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THE

LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

THE

LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

EDITED BY OSMUND AIRY.

VOLUME I.—1639-1667.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

The Lauderdale MSS. preserved in the British Museum, so far as they are concerned with the period succeeding the Restoration, are contained in thirty-six volumes (*Add. MSS.* 23,113—23,138, and 23,242—23,251, inclusive), each volume holding, on a rough average, from 100 to 150 documents. They cover the whole of Lauderdale's administration, and they contain, moreover, a few letters prior to 1660 of great interest. There are also several other volumes (*Add. MSS.* 22,878 and 23,108—23,112, inclusive) containing papers of an earlier date, many of them relating especially to William Maitland of Lethington, Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots. To these, however, I have at present given no attention.

It is obvious that, even with the space so generously accorded to me by the Society, I can present but a meagre selection from a mass of documents of which there are but very few that do not possess something of real importance. The principles which have guided me have been, in the first place, to afford the material most necessary for the student of Scottish history during the Restoration period; and, secondly, to illustrate fully the career and the character of any person of importance, especially if such career and character have hitherto been in dispute—*e.g.*, Lauderdale and James Sharp.

A few letters of isolated interest are also included.

I am painfully conscious of the imperfections that will be noticed in the present volume: the distance of my residence from London,

the small amount of time which the unfrequent intervals of official employment have enabled me to devote to the work, and previous inexperience, have all contributed to the imperfections. The effects of the last cause, however, have been minimised by the generous help which has been given to me, as it is given to others, by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson and Mr. E. J. L. Scott, of the MSS. department, the latter of whom has supervised the accurate chronological arrangement of the papers, without which the task of selection would have been well-nigh impossible. To Mr. H. J. Ellis, who probably knows more about these MSS. than any one else, and who has undertaken the labour of furnishing me with transcripts, I am in a special degree indebted for continual assistance in all matters of difficulty. It is to him that I owe the following interesting particulars regarding the sources from which the Lauderdale papers have been obtained. He says:—

"I think there is no doubt that they were all formerly at Ham House, near Richmond. Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, the Duke's second wife, inherited the house and lived there; as also did her descendant, Louisa, second Countess of Dysart, who died 22nd September, 1840. It was during the occupancy of Countess Louisa that most, if not all, of the papers were removed. A large number which found their way into the hands of Dawson Turner, of Great Yarmouth, were bought, at the sale of his library in 1859, by the British Museum, and became *Add. MSS.* 22,878, 22,922, 23,108—23,125, *Add. Charters* 14,503—14,508, *Eg. MS.* 1818. The history of this portion is curious. Hudson Gurney, in a letter to Sir H. Ellis from Keswick in 1852, says that 'the Scottish Papers in Dawson Turner's possession were *abstracted* from Ham House by a waiting-woman of old Lady Dysart's, during her courtship by a very *well informed Antiquary*' (who this may be, I know not), 'who married her, and many years ago I spoke to George Sinclair

of several of them having been seen in these parts (supposing they had been taken from Helmingham). He said that perhaps their preservation would be best secured by getting into the collection of some one who would value them, but spoke of them to the old lady, who gave all the *remaining* ones, as I have understood, to *him*, and he deposited them in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. The history of a *part* of them is curious. *Evelyn* complained of having *lent* them to the Duke of Lauderdale and never having been able to get them back again.' *

"The papers mentioned above by Gurney as given to George Sinclair (who became Sir G. Sinclair, Bart. of Ulbster, in 1835, and had married the Countess's granddaughter in 1816) were sold by him to the Bannatyne Club in 1830, or later, and by the Bannatyne Club in turn to the British Museum in 1859, when they became *Add. MSS.* 23,126—23,138. A number of letters by Lady Margaret Kennedy, the Earl of Argyll, and others, which originally were in this portion of the papers, were printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1828 and 1829, and the originals of these are, or were to be, deposited in the Advocates' Library. As far as I can ascertain, these papers are not now forthcoming at that library.

"Another large portion of the papers, perhaps containing the most important of all, relating to the Billeting Act, &c. were purchased from a Miss Ryder in 1859–60, and were numbered *Add. MSS.* 23,242—23,251. I cannot trace the history of this portion, but I expect that they formed a part of those *abstracted* from Ham House. They were not in Dawson Turner's hands at any time that I can trace. A few of the papers dispersed at Turner's sale in 1859 have since found their way to the Museum; such as those

* This is most probably the letter of Evelyn in the Stowe Collection, just purchased by the British Museum, and printed at length in the catalogue of Stowe MSS. exhibited to the public.

in *Add. MS.* 28,747, and others, but most have been lost sight of, such as—*MSS.* and printed papers on the charge of Treason against Argyll in 1661, including *original* petitions, &c.—Lauderdale's Household expenses at Thirlestane, 1678—The Catalogue of his Library, 1645?—Sir Robert Moray's letters to Lord Kincardine, 1654-1674, *copies.*—Letters of Scottish advocates, 170 in number, from 1660 onwards (a companion volume came to the Museum at the sale)—A volume containing 82 letters of Archbishop Sharp and 46 of Archbishop Alexander Burnet, 1660-1681 (this was purchased for the Duke of Newcastle)—Papers relating to Archbishop Sharp's murder, 1679-80—besides many single letters and papers."

Through the courtesy of the Librarian of the University Library, Edinburgh, I am enabled to state that there are preserved in that library eight volumes of transcripts of letters from Lauderdale to the Earl of Rothes between 1665 and 1668; but the whereabouts of the originals I am unable to ascertain.

I have also to express my thanks to Mr. T. Dickson, of the Registry House, Edinburgh, for his kindness in supplying me with much useful information. (See, especially, notes on pp. 9, 225, 272.)

The present volume contains a view of Scottish history from 1660 until Lauderdale's first visit as High Commissioner in 1669, or, rather, until Robert Moray's arrival in Scotland as his forerunner. There were, however, a few papers of special interest, prior to the Restoration, which could not be omitted. The most curious of these (p. 2), the draft of the secret conditions between Charles and the Scotch nobles at the Isle of Wight, has already been printed (*Athenæum*, Jan. 26, 1878) by Mr. Scott. It will be observed that the Kirk, in whose name the Commissioners were virtually treating, is not even mentioned, a fact that will excite no astonishment among

those who are acquainted with the hatred of the nobles to the Presbyterian yoke from the first success of the Scottish Reformation. A similar omission will be noticed in the private letter (p. 6) written in an early month of 1660 by Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sinclair, to friends in Scotland. It is valuable as giving full expression to the views of the "Engagement" Nobles who, after the Act of Classes, had formed the National party. It will be observed that the Restoration is spoken of as implying immediate disconnection from England. It shows, too, how the Scotch nobles were all pressing forward to obtain a good start in the struggle for office and plunder which they hoped was about to begin. The urgent advice "to banish all designs or indeavors for places or imployments," as coming from the writers, can, perhaps, scarcely be regarded as disinterested. Another of these letters, to which I would call particular attention, is that from Robert Moray to Lauderdale in June 1660, (p. 28), from which it appears that Moray's mission in France was to secure from the French Presbyterians a judgment in favour of Episcopacy, a mission in which he was completely successful.

The Billeting Act, the clumsy effort made by Middleton, the High Commissioner, and his faction, to oust Lauderdale from the Secretaryship, which he had cunningly secured, receives full illustration (pp. 106-134) from the letters written to the latter by William Sharp, his private agent, brother to the Archbishop. They are, for the most part, in sympathetic ink, and it was only with considerable difficulty that they could be deciphered. They will be found to correct one or two of the statements of Burnet on the subject. The interpretation of the names under which William Sharp represented the persons most concerned, *e.g.* "Hastie," "Sheldon," "Nothing," "Mr. Smith," &c. caused considerable difficulty, but is, I believe, in each case fully established. The "person of Flisk," who is mentioned on p. 113, and who occurs

several times later, as well as in James Sharp's letter on p. 45, I have, since the letters were printed, proved to my satisfaction to be the Earl of Rothes. Flisk is a small village, five miles north-west of Cupar. The ancestors of the Rothes family acquired it about 1320, and it remained with them for 500 years.

To all to whom the character of James Sharp is still a matter of solicitude, the long series of letters (pp. 24-97) from him, addressed chiefly to Patrick Drummond, a London Presbyterian minister, who was in communication with Lauderdale, will give great assistance. It will be observed that, from p. 60 to p. 90, Sharp's letters contain various marginal marks, evidently placed there in order to call attention to special passages. From these marks, and from a general consideration of the contents, I have little doubt that these are the very letters which, as Burnet tells us, Lauderdale laid before Charles II., when it suited his object to expose Sharp's meanness and insincerity. I would call especial attention also to Letter XXIX. (p. 56), from James Sharp, already printed by Mr. Scott in the *Athenæum*. It is a mutilated fragment; but it was evidently written to Lauderdale, and sent to him *direct*. The variation in tone between this letter and those sent through Drummond is worthy of notice. A careful perusal of the whole series, and of others which I hope to include in a second volume, will save any future biographer from the temptation of endeavouring to palliate a life of petty meanness such as has seldom been exceeded in history. In the most comprehensive sense of the word Sharp was a knave, *pur sang*, and one who, to retain the price of his knavery, eagerly submitted to be cajoled, threatened, bullied, or ignored, by bolder men as served their turn. I have been careful to include everything of Sharp's in my collection. Several of the letters mentioned will be found quoted at length in Mr. Burton's *History of Scotland*. The correspondence

between Lauderdale and Robert Moray (pp. 135-190), when the former went down to Scotland after Middleton's disgrace in 1663, apart from the vivid accounts which it gives of Warriston's trial and the revenge of Lauderdale upon the defeated faction, illustrates how completely, in opposition to Clarendon and Monk, the Secretary had succeeded in confining the conduct of Scotch affairs to three persons—the King, Moray, and himself (see, for one example out of many, a sentence in the middle of p. 182, and the first sentence in Lauderdale's letter to Charles on p. 184);—and how entirely he is to be regarded, not as the minister of a constitutional king, but as the grand vizier of an irresponsible despot. The frequent notices, too, of Charles' habits and ways of speech; of his remarkable bodily energy; of his repugnance to steady work; of his ability in dealing with disagreeable business that had to be got through; are given by Moray with great spirit. For my estimate of the characters of Lauderdale and Moray, as for a somewhat detailed account of the bearing of these MSS. upon the history of the government of Scotland during this period, I may be permitted to refer to my article in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1884.

The second portion of this volume (pp. 191-283) illustrates the reign of violence and avarice which, under Rothes and James Sharp, in league with Hamilton, Dalyell, and others of the needy nobility, led to the Pentland Rebellion, and to the horrors of its suppression. Two points in especial are brought prominently before us; the entire absence of sympathy between the nobles and the classes below them; and the apparently universal hatred of the English. The latter feeling was, of course, the result in a great measure of the jealousy of England, which effectually strangled the cattle and corn trades in Scotland. It reached its height when the war with Holland closed the only remaining market for Scotch merchandise. So bitterly was this felt that there is little doubt that a

successful landing of the Dutch would have been followed by an immediate rising of the western shires. This point will be found fully illustrated in the letters selected, as well as in the letters of Sharp and Alexander Burnet to Sheldon contained in the Sheldon MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Of the rout of Pentland an eye-witness account from Charles Maitland, Lauderdale's brother, will be found on p. 248. As regards the numbers of the rebels and their equipment it is, I imagine, quite untrustworthy.

Lauderdale's chief correspondent during this period is Rothes, who had been his devoted friend, and who had been made Commissioner upon Middleton's disgrace, as a useful tool in the Secretary's hands. Tweeddale, whose son married Lauderdale's daughter, and Bellenden, also send letters full of interest. With Rothes, extortion appears to have been the only object, and brutality the only method. Hamilton, Dalyell, and Drummond were of one mind with him. Sharp, partly from spite against the adherents of the Kirk which he had betrayed, partly out of a desire, natural to his base temper, to plot against the hand that had raised him, and Burnet the Archbishop of Glasgow, out of real honest bigotry, joined the Holy Alliance, which had for its object the maintenance of military rule, the unflagging suppression of all opposition to the Episcopal Church, and the establishment of an influence independent of the Secretary. With what admirable knowledge of the men with whom he had to deal, with what perfect temper, courage, confidence, and unscrupulousness, Lauderdale, with the invaluable aid of Moray and Tweeddale, broke up this alliance, when the disorder which it produced began to threaten his credit and power, will appear from the documents to be printed in the next volume.

The Appendix contains some letters accidentally omitted, with one of James Sharp from *Add. MS.* 4162, f. 46, which is included as being the earliest communication I have found from him to Lau-

derdale. I regret that through an oversight a few letters have been printed which appear in Wodrow, *e. g.* those on pp. 99-103, referring to Tweeddale's commitment and release.

Errors and omissions occur in the notes, which it has been impossible to correct or supply, as they were not discovered until after the sheets had been printed off. On p. 148, for instance, "Cassilis" should be "Dunfermline"; on p. 181, the reference 23,119, f. 105, should be 23,119, f. 159; the suggestion "Fletcher," on p. 115, should no doubt be "Flisk." "Lauderdale's Kinsman" mentioned on p. 224 was Athol. The tavern spoken of on p. 139 as the place where the Billeting plot was matured was Masterton's Tavern. The references at the headings of the letters, *e.g.* 23,113, f. 5, are to the *Add. MSS.*

To any one who undertakes the close examination of so large a body of MSS., the character of the handwriting is a matter of no little importance. It is curious how closely, in several of the instances contained in this volume, it reflects the character of the writer. That of James Sharp, for example, is small, paltry, niggling, and exceptioually annoying; the style is self-conceited and pedantic. Rothes writes like an illiterate boor, barely able to do more than make his mark; each letter is formed singly, and the distance between the several letters of a word is often as great as that between the words themselves. The spelling is equally rudimentary; and, though leading principles of interpretation gradually developed themselves as I read, reason had frequently to be supplemented by daring. Thus, when Rothes prides himself on his attendance to business, in that he held a Council although it was "couppereas day," it is pretty certain that he meant "Cupar Race day"; but this is a comparatively simple case. Dalyell's spelling and language are, perhaps, still more barbarous and uncouth. Lauderdale himself writes a bold, rather coarse and

slovenly hand, easy to read, as his meaning is always easy to understand; the masterful and somewhat brutal *bonhomie* of the man comes out strongly in style and language. Robert Moray's writing is that of a scholar; it is a beautiful modern hand, almost too facile for perfect ease of reading. He is often lengthy, but always clear, and never wearisome. Tweeddale is the most legible of all; his style of narrative, however, is, on the whole, tedious, and his pleasantry somewhat clumsy.

I have, in conclusion, to express my regret at the delay which has taken place in the issue of this volume, a delay caused entirely by a somewhat prolonged illness.

OSMUND AIRY.

Birmingham.
April 28th, 1884.

THE LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

I.—King Charles I. to John Maitland, first Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23113, f. 5.]

Charles R.

Right trustie and welbeloved Cosen and Councellor wee greet yow well. In regard of the many proofes of your good affection for advanceing of our service at this tyme, haveing resolved to be in person at York about Easter next, that wee may be the more neare to that our Kingdome for taking such course as upon the present occasion may appeare to be requisite; these are to advertise yow of this our purpose, that either upon your stay there, or upon some necessity of your retireing unto this our kingdome, yow may take the best course yow can for secureing of them, whom yow know to be affected to our service, that they do nothing that may tend to the apprabacion of the late assembly at Glasgow,[b] and for prepareing of them otherwise for our service as yow shall think expedient; and

[a] Father of John Maitland, 2nd Earl, and 1st Duke, of Lauderdale.

[b] This important assembly met on Nov. 21, 1638. It continued its sittings in defiance of the King's proclamation, repealed or annulled the acts of preceding assemblies since 1606, tried, deposed, and excommunicated several Bishops, and re-established the Presbyterian polity in its utmost strictness. See Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 9 and following, and Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, in loc.

as wee shall acquaint yow from tyme to tyme with our further proceedings, let us likewise be acquainted with what occurreth there, because wee will much rely upon your judgment therein: wee bid yow farewell from our Court at Whitehall, the 18 January, 1639 stilo scotico. [1639.]

II.—Declaration by Charles I.

[This most interesting document has already been published (*Athenæum*, Jan. 26, 1878) by Mr. E. J. Scott, of the MSS. department of the British Museum. It is nothing less than the draft of the Secret Conditions made by the Scotch Commissioners, of whom Lauderdale was one, with Charles I. at the Isle of Wight. Burnet (*Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 64) says that Lauderdale told him of it, but that it could not be found among Hamilton's papers.]

[23113, f. 16.]

Charles R.

His Majestie out of the naturall affection he beares to his ancient and native kingdom, and to demonstrat how sensible he is of their affection expressed to him in the tyme of his extremity and how heartily desireous he is to put markes of his grace and favour upon his subjects of that nation which may remaine to all posterity; doth declare that he is resolved —

That Scottish men equally with English bee imployed by his Maj. and his successors, in forreine Negotiations and Treatyes in all tyme comeing.

That ~~Scottish men at least to the number of the third parte~~ a considerable and competent number of Scots men bee upon his Ma^ties^ counsell, and his successors in England, and soe reciprocally the same number of English men upon his Ma^tics^ counsell

in Scotland. That Scottish men according to the number and proportion [*correction inserted in margin.* C. R. of a third parte in number and qualitie be employed] ~~aforesd. bee~~ in places of trust and offices about his Maj. person, the Queenes Maj., the prince and rest the Royall issue, and in their familyes in all tyme comeing.

That his Maj. and the prince, or at least one of them, shall reside in Scotland frequently as their occasions can permit—whereby their subjects of that kingdom may bee knowne unto them.

~~Carisbroke, 26 Dec. 1647.~~ Signet of Cha. I.

III.—James Sharp, Minister of Craill, to Mr. Patrick Drummond, at London.

[23113, f. 66.]

Dear Sir, Craill, 28 Aug. 1658.

I have failed much and long in not wreating to yow, and my apologie for this neglect would take up more tyme then I can now spare ; I must be in this at your mercy; you have long agoe seen and perused our late Declaration,[a] and therby perceived our tender recentments of the bleeding condition of this poor church, and readines to stretch ourselves to the outmost for healing and closure with these brethren in the Lord. But what wee did fear and preesage is come to pass. No peace can be had with these men,[b] but upon ther own termes, how destructive soever to truth and order. Ther leading men doe so act and influence that party, beeng encouraged through the favour of the times and heightened

[a] "We appointed Mr. Wood to draw a short declaration of our willingness to have any tolerable peace with the Remonstrants, if so, for tyme to come, they would promise to be submissive to the established government; this now is printed." Baillie to Spang, June 1658. *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 362.

[b] The Remonstrants.

by the sway they conceive that those of ther way, who have gott themselves into places of power and trust,[a] may carrye in this nation; that nothing will satisfie them unless they have all ther will whatever may be the consequents therof. They have laitly emitted a most bitter invictive peece,[b] which will appear to be such to yow if yow have seen it; I hear it is not owned by all ther party, but they have stretched ther witts and consciences (I mean the penners of it) ad ultimum conatum to render us odious, and make a clear discovery of ther spirit and way; though ther most false allead-geances and gross misrepresentations of matters of fact be sett of with all the speciusnes and plausibility they could make, yet we hope it shall not take impression upon the sober and unbyassed, and I am desired by M. Douglass[c] and M. Hutcheson, who had a letter from you laitly to intreat yow to speak to those of your acquaint-ance, that if that peece have or shall come to ther hands, they would allow us more charity than what that lybell doth give to us, till they see our vindication, which we are necessitated to emitt for clearing the truth and our innocency; and we purpose to doe it with this resolved intimation once for all, that henceforth we will not deal any more with them by print, nor publish anything relating to our differences, whatever reply they may make; if they will have the last word let them take it; for our parts after oure full clearing of ourselves we will leave our cause to the Lord and the considera-tion of all the unprejudiced. I would give you some limits of the

[a] *e. g.* Patrick Gillespie, Principal of Glasgow University; and Samuel Ruther-ford, Principal of St. Mary's College.

[b] viz., "An Address to the Christian Reader," containing very severe remarks on the Resolutioners, prefixed by Rutherford to his "Survey of the Survey of that summe of Church Discipline penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker," &c. London, 1658, 4to; Baillie, vol. iii. p. 375.

[c] Minister of Calmonell, afterwards of Edinburgh, Commissioner to the West-minster Assembly, but never sat; Moderator of the General Assembly in 1649; Fellow Commissioner with James Sharp to Monk in London, but induced by Sharp to stay in Scotland. For their correspondence see Wodrow, *Introduction.*

injurious usage we have from that pamplet, but conceiving it needles till you see our full answere I shall forbear, and now putt this trouble upon you, to deliver the inclosit to M. Manton.[a] Our brethren conceive it unnecessary to trouble M. Calamy and M. Ash with our other freinds with you by frequent letters; they desire ther affectionat respects to be tendered to them, and doe expect your prayers towards the wealfare of this distempered church. I long to know how it is with you, and if the motions which I have ever made to you by your freinds for entring into the Lord's vineyard have yet prevailed with you.[b] I trnst to have the satisfaction of hearing of the Lord's dryving you to imploy your talent even in this poor despised church. I must breake of. The good God hold you in his keeping. Account of me as one who does unfeignedly respect and love you.

JAMES SHARP.

IV.—ORDER OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

[23113, f. 69.]

Weddensday, 29 June, 1659.

At the councill of State, at Whythall. Ordered that Mr. James Sharp be commandit forthwith to returne out of England to his own habitation into Scotland, and there apply himself to the duty of his calling within his parish or other his own private affairs, and that he does not intermedle with any matters that relate to the publick affairs ne concernes of these nations, either himself or by negotiating or corresponding with others therin, but quietly and

[a] Leading Presbyterian Minister in London. At the Restoration Calamy refused a Bishopric, and Manton a Deanery.

[b] See succeeding letters to Drummond.

peaceably demean himself and keep within the compass of his own calling.[a]

HEN[RY] SCOBELL, Clerk of the Councill.

[*Copy*, in Sharp's *autograph*.]

V.—THE EARLS OF CRAWFORD AND LAUDERDALE AND LORD SINCLAIR TO ———— [b]

[23113, f. 84.]

The posture of affairs heir can be so well told by this noble gentleman that we shall not trowble yow with the repetition of

[a] In Baillie's *Letters and Journals* there are letters written to Sharp at this time, but no mention is made of his return to Scotland as being an enforced one. The following, however, which occurs in a letter written to William Spang on Jan. 31, 1661 (vol. iii. p. 431) may help to explain the matter : "Being afraid for Warristoun's incessant designs, the brethren of Edinburgh moved Mr. Sharp to go up again to attend his motions. The Protector Richard took very weell with him and sundry members of Parliament, but when these were put down Warriston deferred him to the Council as corresponding with Massey and Titus. Being upon this called to the Councell, Sir H. Vaine and Mr. Scot were sent out to confer with him, to whom he gave abundant satisfaction, and a little after was sent home in peace."

[b] Some difficulty is found in fixing a date for this letter. The mention of a "design to send Commissioners and Judges into Scotland," (as if it were now first heard of,) seems to point to somewhere about 1651 or 1652. On Sept. 26, 1651, the Long Parliament resolved to send Commissioners to Scotland "for the managing of the civil government and settling affairs there as may be best for the service of the Commonwealth." And on March 23, 165½, the Committee for Irish and Scotch affairs were ordered to "send for the persons whom they nominated to the Council to goe into Scotland to be administrators of justice, to receive from them (the Parliament) their resolutions concerning their goeing thither." [*Record Edition of Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. part 2, Appendix.] The "positive injunctions to settle courts of justice (as they call it) in Scotland and Ireland," point the same way. And from Baillie, vol. iii. p. 209, under date May 18, 1652, it appears that George Smith, Esq. and Edward Moseley, Esq., were two of the English Judges or Commissioners appointed "for the administration of justice in civil cases in Scotland." The last sentence of the letter must, one would think, refer to

what he can better relate: nor have we the vanity to thinke that our advice can be of any great use. Yet, seing yow are pleased to command it, we shall with freedome tell our thoghts which we humbly submitt to your better judgments.

The late hous was in a manner ready to disolve before we came hither, at least it was not possible to ingage them in any debate relating to Scotland (for indeed they were limited as to their proceedings). After the hous was up we heard of a design to send commissioners and judges into Scotland. It was prest on by divers persons upon severall interests, and we, looking on it as the wreathing of a yoke upon our necks, did endeavor all we were able to prevent it. We spoke with divers of the Councell, whome we found to professe great respects to Scotland and sence of the unjust violences that poore kingdome hath lyen under. Wee found them professe as great desires to have us freed as themselves, but the ingagements which laye on them not to looke backward, and the positive instructions which they had, to setle courts of justice (as they call it) in Scotland and Ireland, were objected by them as such insuperable difficulties as they could not (as they said) get

these judges. Moreover, supposing the "Lord General" to mean Cromwell, the letter must have been written before December, 1653, for from that time he was "Lord Protector."

On the other hand several things point to 1660. Lauderdale and Crawford were in London then, and at liberty, and had but lately gone there, which falls in with "ready to dissolve before we came hither." But in 1651 onwards they were prisoners, and on Dec. 17, 1653, Lauderdale tells Baillie that he does not meddle with public concerns. The "late hous, which was ready to dissolve," and which knew that its power would expire before June, and was "limited as to its proceedings," can hardly refer to any but the Long Parliament. The tone of the references to the general moreover seems to suit Monk better than Cromwell. "What Scotland is most concerned in," sounds like the Restoration. There was, too, good reason why jealousy should be roused in 1660 by the "publick appearing heir of any from Scotland," but none in 1653. The advice not to stirre till the "great end call for it as absolutely necessary," and the rest of the passage, are in the same direction. Moreover, in 23113, f. 93, dated April 19, 1660, Rothes speaks of judges as then coming down. Finally there is no mention of the debtor and creditor matter as early as 1652, nor before Feb. 165$\frac{3}{4}$, while it was a matter of division and trouble in Feb. 1660.

over. Yet we prest that if they did us no good (which we found they could not doe) that they wold doe us no hurt. We told that by law we could have no Session till June; before that time, their power wold expire, we urged that Scotland desired no judicatures, in a word, we said what we could, yet all we could doe was but to delay, because of the reason above said. Afterwards this noble bearer acquainted us with his instructions, which by a letter he had receaved,—To presse the Lord Generall against these judges, and for a libertie to meet for preparing the desires of the kingdome, that they might be presented as occasion should offer: what the succes was he can best informe yow. We can beare witnes he did acquitt himseif dexterously and diligently. At his desire wee spoke to the Councell man by man, that they might at least connive at such a meeting, but to no purpos onely wee found where the stick lay as he can informe yow. This is the true state of your affaires, and yow are to consider what yow are nixt to doe: yow cannot meet by permission, and to meet without allowance is in our opinion not fitt, for yow will be interrupted, and yow know best if yow be in a posture to make it good. Wee humbly conceave ane open breach is not advisable, for either our great end will be peaceably brought about or not. God forbid the stirring of Scotland at this time should be a pretence for hindering the peaceable doing of what Scotland is most concerned in. The Generall professes faire to yow and is not to be disobliged; and yow are to consider if the publick appearing heir of any from Scotland may not rather give jealousie then advance what we most desire.

With humble submission, it is our opinion that it is your great interest not to stirre or appeare to stirre till it be to purpos, and that your great end call for it as absolutely necessary. Your maine work is to unite among yourselves and to keep up the spirit of the people. Wee know but two pairties in Scotland, those who stand for the right and liberties, the Laws and Government of Scotland, and those who have protested and acted against those good ends. The last we doe not looke on as Scotsmen. It is the former whom

we humbly exhort to perfite union, what ever differences have been among them before; for the Lord's sake lay aside faction and animositee and prevent all Divisive motions: for this purpos it is humbly proposed that some of the greatest interest meet privately at Edinb[r] to keep correspondencies with meetings of honest men in every shire. Let the centre of your union be the libertie and restitution of Scotland, and the great means of preserving it wilbe heartie concurrences in such friendly and necessarie meetings. What use the Lord may yet have of Scotland we know not, but certainly without entire union among those who intend Scotland's libertie, Scotland shall never be considerable. In the name of the Lord, therfore, banish all designs or indeavors for places or imployments. Let all honest men first labour to save the ship before any passenger seek his private concerns. And be carefull to suppres Divisive motions: one wee must needs mention and humbly desire it may be layed aside, and that is the business betwixt Creditor and Debitor;[a] we must not seek redres but from those who may legally give it; we may divide on it, but sure none can get advantage by it. Be carefull also to prevent Suts at Law among honest men, the fewer applecations be made to the new Judges, and the lesse imployment they or the Commissioners have, it will be the better; and we humble conceave Scots men will be better advised then to accept those commissions.

[*Signed*] CRAWFURD LINDESAY. LAUDERDAILL. SINCLARE.

[Endorsed, "Earl of Craufurd, Lauderdale, and Lord Sinclair, advice to friends before the restoration."]

[a] The harshness of the law of Scotland in the matter of debtor and creditor was keenly felt in consequence of the impoverishment of the country by the war. The first notice of it in the English Parliament was in Feb. 165$\frac{3}{4}$, and on May 16, 1654, an ordinance was passed for the better moderating the severity of the proceedings which, by the laws of Scotland, are had by creditors against their debtors. It was again brought up in April 1655, and March 165$\frac{7}{8}$, and was still unsettled in 1660. On July 12, 1661, however, it was ordained by the Parliament of Scotland (in consideration of "the troubles and difficulties of the tyme") "that for all sums and debts contracted before the tyme of Witsunday 1658 years, & exceeding 1000 pund Scots of principall, personal execution shall be forborne by the space of six years," &c (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. 317).

VI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23113, f. 88.]

The 6 of Ap. [1660.]

This young jentillman[a] being on uho I could troust uith anie thing that is deirist to me, I have resolvid by him to wreat fulie and in this plean uay, for I supos ther uill be no ielousie of him. I houp our caynd honist Sherp frend[b] hes given you an full acount of all that hes bein our uorck in this cuntrie and the grounds uie uent on, and I am confident I can in person meack it apir that uant of pour from our banished frind[c] uas the onlie stop to our present hapines, for I can ashour you ther uas sumuhat expectid by the persons, you uill imagin, to have bein proposid to him by my sister,[d] yea, oftnir then ons or tuays, and at ther last miting, uhich nather of them expectid it should have bein so shie spock as fulie to him as uas posibell, yea, least nothing that could be sead as from hir self, which hie discufrid and tould hir. "What you say to me, I teack ueall and shall speack mor frilie to you then anie slayff," and so ueant throu meanie particolars and concloud uith this jenerall teacking hir by the hand uith in that our King should be isteablishid if hie uold have bot a litill pasins, and not spoyll the busines himself by presipetasion, so I am confident his desayn is honist, bot sertinlie you have discufrid mor particolarlie uhat reouls and prinsapels he ualcks by, and I dou rejoays to heir ther is so good an undirstanding betwixt you, for if ons hie troust you he uill falou much of your aduays, bot I persuad my self that the taym of our Kings restorasion, and so consiquantlie our redempsion from sleafrie is verie neir, and that it is almost out of the pour of the armie to put a stop to our hapines, considring the Melisia ueall at lid (?) at

[a] Balgonie, nephew of Rothes.

[b] James Sharp and Lauderdale were both in London in April, 1660.

[c] ?

[d] Rothes had two sisters: (1) Margaret, married successively to James, Lord Balgonie (died 1642); to Francis, Earl of Buccleugh (died 1651); and to David, Earl of Wemys. (2) Mary, married to Hugh, Earl of Eglinton. It is the former who is meant.

a satling as uie ar informid it is, and yrlands present condision and good afixion uith uhom . . . have good corrispondins of uhich I supos you ar informid of by an othir hand bot uithin a wick you shall cnou mor of this for ther is an expres to be heir from my Lord of cards,[a] broghill, corts[b] (?) and clatuirthie,[c] and as to this cuntrie I can ashour you ther is a most hertie and cordiall agrimint amongist thos that ar honist and ueall prinsapelid, and belive it ther uas nobill underteackings uhen ther uas bot litill apirins of busines coming this munthe ? so soun bot I shall not say anie mor of this bot you will have an full acount of it befor long, nou my deirist frind to yous anie expressions of cayndnis or sins of the obligasion, I ou uold reather bring a stean upon them by my short cuming in expresing uhat my reall thoughts ar, thein uirck such a mirackill as to incres the cayndnis I have for you and istim of you, for if I have eather . . . . or honor, you are the man on earthe, yea I may say almost the person I love, honor, respects, an adors most, and trust I may never be hapie heir or hereftir if what I have sead benot the sinsear thoughts of my hert. Therfor for God's seak be to me as you have bein when I was with you a frie advaysir and derecktir of . . . . in all things of consernmint, and I do ashour you there is no comand can com from you, uithin the furthist extent of my pour and intrist that I will not obay at uhatsoevir reat, I cnou you will give me live to wreat to you with fridom, uhich I shall dou in everie particolar busines uith evrie shour opertunitie, uhen I uas a falou prisunar in the castil uith G.[d] I indid found him most desayrous to doe anie thing for the right and true? intrist, and to my reall oprehension so as other uas no thing in uhat soever stasion hie uold not have undertackin uhich indid did begat a good opinion of him in me, and ever sins in all his anxions by the stricktist of my observans he hethe bein both acktif and redie

[a] Cardross. [b] Sir Charles Cootes [c] Clotworthy.

[d] Glencairn. For the disreputable offence for which Rothes was imprisoned at Edinburgh in June, 1658, see Baillie, iii. 367.

to undertack frie of devision, yea dextrous in preventing uhat could give the least siming rays[a] to them, and voting to submit to anie bodie, bot I, remembring to have heird from you in the tour,[b] sum pasigis of uhich you uear dissatisfid uith, could never yous that abshoulat fridom uith him, otheruays I uold or the world belive I dou, bot I have oftin indevorid and mead it my studie to tray uhat uas his thoughts in relasion to you and realie hie ever expresid an hay istim of you and meanie a taym uishid you uith our bist . . . . bot the other day being in Ed: hie ceam to me and tould me on had bein uith him and sead hie cnou you had not a good opinion of him, bot did misundirstand all his axions, bot uith a great othe hie did declare he did not belive it in the least, nor did not cnou anie ground ther uas for it. I ashourd him I cnou nothing of it and uas confiden it uas a lay mead up by thos uho uear frinds to nather of you. So hi baygid of me never to teack notis that hie had spock to me of anie such thing, nathir uold I to anie bodie bot your self. I have nou discufrid it uas resid by my good Lord dumfermling and sir Archbald primros,[c] uho ar discontentid persons becaus not trustid, and ar so ueall cnoun to be that thay can not be trustid bot ther is no mor of it nou, and if therbe anie thing of this consider the reouin it uold bring on the nasion and hasird on all that are consernid in you bothe, I am confident ther is nothing you can desayr of him bot I uill dou it, bot I houp all I have sead as to this purpos is in uean, and that you ar as much surpraysid that ther should be anie such thoughts as hie simid to be uhen hie tould me them. I most humblie bayg that this may not be mead cnoun to anie person alayfe, and that you uill leat me cnou hou to carie my self in everie particular conserning the nasion or particoular persons, and if you shall have anie ocasion to wreat to or to sie our mastir dou me the right as to represent me abshou-

[a] ? seeming rise.

[b] Of London, after Worcester.

[c] Burnet, i. Sect. 104. He was made Clerk-Register at the Restoration, which answers to our Master of the Rolls.

latlie at his disposill, and leat me intreat you to be sivill to this young jentillman, for realie hie is both honist and caynd so I shall concloud desayring no longir to live then

I am Yours .

VII.—Charles II. to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23113, f. 90.]

Bruxselles, 12 April, 1660.

I have receaved yours of the 16, and you will easily beleeve that I am very glad you are at liberty, and in the place where you can do me most service, by disposing your frindes to that temper and sobriety, which must be a principle ingredient to that happynesse, we all pray for. I am confident you have the same opinions and judgement you had when we parted. I am sure I have, and the same kindnesse for you, and beleeve you as intierly my owne, as any man; and that no other mens passions can worke upon you, but that you will beleeve me in these thinges, which I must be presumed to know before any other. I know not how in this conjuncture to give our frindes you mention any direction or advise, sinse what they are to do must depende upon what is done some where else. I hope wee shall shortly meete, and then you will meete with all the kindnesse you can wish from

Your most affectionate[a] frinde, Charles R.

VIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23113, f. 92.]

My deir Lord, Ed. 18 of Ap.

Having ureaten fulie to your Lo by my neuoay balgonie and befor in a hidin uay, and having reseued no ansuir with Mr. Moric,

[a] The friendship between Charles and Lauderdale was therefore already very close.

I have sum houp Mr. William Sherp[a] hes sumuhat from you and hie hes not bein this lenthe as yit. bot I dou eurie ouir expect him and being to have an other shour ocasion this wick to conveay my letirs to your Lo. by, I shall shortin your troubell bot shall onlie tell you that almost all persons of intrist and qualetie in this nasion dus understand on an other uerie ueall. and the onlie troubell uie have is from a hand you uold litill expect and on a pretendit acount you can far les imagin, the Earle of Selcrayge[b] is the person who I most in fridom tell you as to my oun hart bot uith sad regrat, not capobill to be satisfayid with reson, and hie is promtid by sir Jeame hamiltun and sir danil carmichall uhos studie it is to caus a breath and foment it, ther pretens is to have a miting of shayrs which is as much desayrid by all the nasion as is imaginabill, that my Lord Crafurd and your Lo. may be chosin comisionars, and the comisionars them selfs uill evins hou much it is thear desayrs, for thay ar resolvid sins it cannot be had that they will dou nothing bot by your advaysis, bot the desayn is to have a meiting of the uast cuntrie shayrs and to throust in a remonstratir intrist which Lowthian, Loudan, and underhand Argayll uill on, bot this Selcrayge dusnot imagin bot I can ashour you is trou, and to be a scoug to them thay uold chous your Lordships comisionars for thay cnou that uold be plousabill to the nasion bot I tould them nather of your Lordships near persons that I beliuid uold axept of comisions from seureall shayrs af the nasion. Yea I thought you wear aboufe resevang eather honor or advantage tho you uear the soll comisionars from the uholl nasion. This I was resolvid to have ureatin in uhayt inck bot taym and tayd uill not alou; therfor for godseack pardon this scribling which I thinck is imposibell to be red, and belive my deir Lord that I desayr to live no longir then I am your

ROTHES.

[a] Brother of James Sharp. He was Lauderdale's confidential agent in Scotland.

[b] ? Selkirk, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, by his marriage with the heiress of the Hamilton family, who by her father's patent was Duchess of Hamilton.

Just as I have dun I have met with Mr. Sherp, you shall reseve this trubill agan this wick. Pray leat non sie this.

IX.—The Earl of Rothes to Earl of Lauderdale.

[23113, f. 93.]

Leslie, 19 of Ap. 1660.

* * * * *

I houp my lord generall uill mack our comisionars[a] uelcome sins hie uill faynd ther chiff desayr to have ther dependansie on him uhich it sims is ther seaffist and onlie uay, uhat hie promisis hie uill not breack and having so oftin ingadgid himself to stand for the good of this cindom, bothe befor hie uent from this and sins, I dou not in the least dout him uhat comands hie uill convay to us by your Lo/ uie shall obay. On thing I most ashour you of, if our judgis uho I hier ar coming doun be not stopt,[b] bot opin the signit the universall uorld uill not save manie in this cuntrie from deforsing the mesingirs, and then thay uill be secundid by ingleshis so uie shall all fall by the ears togeather. I troublid you in my last uith a long istorie of my lord selcryge in ernest hic dus mor prejudeas then can be expresid so ill dus my ladie Margarat[c] totor him and of him self hie hes nather to much wit nor discresion. At a miting uith sum of the buros the provist of hadintun tould hie heird your Lo/ had proqurd Waristun's libertie. I tould it uas a misteak, and imediatlie faynding me sumuhat hot hie declarid my lord tuadill befor a great meanie had ashourid him of it, to uhich I ansurid hie spock layck on uho did not deserve the honor of so neir a relasion to you, and uhat hie had tould uas a notorious lay, it uold sim hie

[a] By 23113, f. 80, which contains the minutes of Sederunts of Commissioners of the Nobles, Shires, and Boroughs, at Edinburgh, 2 Feb. 6 April, 1660, it appears that the Commissioners were Glencairn, Hume, Mungo, Murray, Hurie, and Carden.

[b] This seems to settle the date of 23113, f. 84, as 1660.

[c] Lady Margaret Kennedy.

had bein the furst resir of the report uhich is indid spred throu the nasion, I should not have tould this much of him because hie and I I am at diferans about my ladie brickloughs bisines, bot I houp you uill not misteack me. I heir his intensions ar to currie favor with your lo/, bot I houp you cnou him and realie a belive hie uill prove to thos that trusts him ane other argayll.

My deir Lord my taym uill alou me to say no mor bot that I am

Your most feathfull humbell servant,

ROTHES.

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

MY DEIREST LORD,—

The trou isteat this nasion is in you uill cnou by our comisionars uhat you aduays us in this nasion to dou uie uill go abut it uithout questioning, cnouing you uill cnou the cings plesiour, and I dou not dout bot uie uill carie almost the uholl nasion along with us, and whosoever dus opos us uie most abshoulatlie distroay if uie can, for uhat uie underteack uie most carie throu or day, by the uay for gods seack contiuou ureating to me, frequantlie and frilie for yoir particollar aduays to myself is the chiff pilir, I lean to carie me throu this bruckill uorld.

Mosions hes bein mead to me conserning your Lo/ and my going to ueat o' our meast dear mastir leat me cnou your thoughts of it, that you should imediatlie go I am clir, for I thinck our nasion sufirs for uant of on ther to discharge that ticklish deoutie, bot uhat shall be your aduays to me an ours advertismint shall meack me falou thou it uear contrarie to my own, bot this pour onlie belongs to you. My deir Lord, teack it not ill that I aprehend you ar not furnishid uith munie for such a jurnie, and yous the fridom to comand me to serve you in it for uhithir you go alon or I uith you, a hundir poun shall be redie when you shall call for it, and if all the credid or munie or isteat I can comand shall be at your servis, or I pray god leat me never have joay

of my layff or fortun, cep good Mr. Sherp[a] with you I pray good all his brithrin uear layck him sum of them ar over ueays, bot this is bot a foils sensor[b] (?) bot uith regreat for, I dou honor them as ministers, bot Sherp is not to be comparid uithe. God be uith you my deirist Lord.

X.—From Charles II. to ———

[23113, f. 97a.]

My good freendis, Brusels, 4 April, 1660.

Whenever your letter wes writt it wes not delyvered to me befor the 14 of the last moneth, and I will not deny to yow that I wes in some truble that in such a conjuncture when so great changes and alterations wer in view, I hard nothing from my freindis there of whose affections I never had the least jelosie. Bot as my tendernes for yor saifety and security (which whatever misfortuns have befallen any of yow hath bene with all imaginable care provided for by me and those I trust) keep me from writting or sending to yow; so I wes very confident that upon the appearance of any advantages you would be vigilent to improve thame and give me such further notice and advice as yow judged necessarie for yo[r] owne condition and myne. I am glad to heare by the person who delivered yo[rs][c] to me that yoke is made a litle lighter to yow then it hath been, and that yow then hoped to be in a better condition then at that time yow enjoyed. But I could not find by anything he informed me of that yow then thought it seasonable for me to attempt anything, and yow can only judge upon the place what is in your owne power, and what is proper for yow to

[a] See p. 88. [b] A fool's censure.

[c] ? John Davidson, writer of the following letter.

doe upon the changes and accidents which fall out, and I presume, when yow think the season and occasion ripe yow will send me particulare adverteisements and advice what yow would have me to doe, and till then I sall for yo^{r} sakes not undertake any enterprise or enter upon any negotiation there not doubting bot yow know all persons and officers there and ther affectionis and inclinations, and that yow doe all yow can to worke upon thame, and to dispose them to the right end. I neede not enlarge upon the poynt of my confidence in yow, and kindnese to yow since from the conscience of yo^{r} owne harts yow cannot bot conclude that I am very heartily and particularly and must still be

My good freends,

Yo^{r} most affectionat freend,

CHARLES R.

To my freendes.

[A *Copy* of the King's letter, prefixed to Jo. Davidsone's letter.]

XI.—JOHN DAVIDSON TO ————

[23113, f. 97b.]

MY LORDS, Ap. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1660.

I have been in great impatience to give yow ane accompt of the effairis wes comitted to me, bot never could till now have the opportunity, yet I did severall times writt to our freend in the east nooke, who I suppoise did acquant yow of what I told him. Since he wes the only person with whome I wes desired to correspond, I hoip what I said to him wes as if it had bein said to all. The bearers can give so perfect ane accompt of most particulars that I sall not neid so long a letter as if this went by another hand, yet I intend to give yow a tuitch of things in generall.

I suppoise yow hard how by a mistake of our skipper I landed in Holland instead of Zealand, which wes no small truble to me, for

then I wes engadged to goe home. Next day after my aryvall I went to Ro: Montg: and colo: Turner and gave thame ane accompt of the whole matter of fact: that wes passed: only according to my oath I concealed my message to Mr. Kirktoun and the persons who imployed me, ffor tho I had libertie to enforme Co: Turner of all and to imploy him according as I sould sie occasion, yet I thought it fitt to delay till I sould first see Mr. Kirkton: Bot he told me a month before my arivall he had seine one who cam from Scotland who told him that I wes comeing instructed with messageses to Mr. Kirkton, and that it wes already a very common report there: this I laughed att, bot yet it trubled becaus by that I did see a great truble I sould have to gett my bussines accomplished, yet I could think of no better way then of that I told yow before my comeing away, which wes to stay a fortnight or three weekis at home without seemeing to meddle with any thing and then to pretend a voyage to Amsterdam and so goe to Mr. Kirkton, which I did so as not so much as my wife or any person did know of it bot the bearer who went with me. When I had delivered him the letter and shew him all I knew of effairis I will assure yow he wes not a litle satisfied, and said to me that he confessed that he wes not so hoipfull of his effaires till he had that information. His answers to the particulars wer that he thought as effaires stood now it wes not fitt to attempt any thing of fforce, bot that if those peaceable meanes should faile (of which he had now so great hoips and expectation) he wes glaid to know of so considerable and hoipfull a way to trye the bussines another way: for armes and ammunition he said he could furnish abundantly when they suld be requyred, and asked what force I thought wold be sufficient to be sent from beyond sea: to be a stoke to begin the bussinese. I told him yow thought 2,000 horse at least: he said horse wold be hard to be transported, bot that he wold doe all he could and goe with them himselfe or send one of his brether. Then he asked what wes your desires concerneing the comand. I told him I had no positive in-

struction for that. Bot since I thought it my duetie to tell him all I knew in his effaires I told him I wold show him what I had hard, which wes that till he or one of his Brothers wer there it wold be your desire that a nobleman amongst yourselves should be imployed and that your thoughts wes upon the E. of Callander as a person who wes a breave and experimented souldiour, one that had alwayes showen himselfe zealous to his and his fathers interests, and one who had interest by bloode in most of the noble families in Scotland. He said not much to this bot that he wold be very willing to satisfie your desires in whom you should chuse. Then he asked me how Middleton wes lyked. I told him I had no instruction to speak concerneing him bot that I thought he wold not be very acceptable to the generality. Upon this he asked me, why. I answered I could not tell, nor wes I to give reasons for any thing for which I had no comission. The treuth is he is very inclineable to Middletoun, who is very weell with all the great favorits at court. I wes glaid he wes not then there that I might not be ingadged to meit with him, since I neither could show him anything nor wes it fitt to shew him anything of bussines whearin he should find himselfe neglected who had formerly beene so considerable. After I had given this accompt to Mr. Kirkton I went to my L^{d} Chancelour by his direction and gave him also ane full accompt of the whole bussines, and becaus he told me he had hard of many informations had bene to his preiudice in Scotland. I told him it wes true indeid, bot that they wer now taken af, and that you had showen your selves very ready to be disabused, which did show you had no preiudice aganst him, bot that you being at so great a distance it wes no wonder that you might be strangely misinformed, and that misinformations wer not to be imputed to you, but upon the contrair seing yow had so readily taken other informations concerneing him it did rather show yo^{r} good inclinations towards him then any other thing, and that now I could assure him you wer such as wer redy to honor all all such as Mr. Kirkton would imploy as the ministers of his effairis:

he seemed to be very weel satisfied, and since I heare he hath spoken publictly that he hath hard strange things of Scotland to his preiudice, bot that he hath of late had such information concerneing thame that he wilbe a servant to that nation to the uttermost of his power. So that I thinck it fitt you send him either a letter of complement, or order me to give him a new one in yo^{r} name, ffor I doe assure you he is so considerable at court that all things pass through his hands. I wes earnest to have the letter brunt, bot the K. said he wold not be able to answer it if he had it not by him, so that I could not urge it. And to let you sie how all things goe, Middletoun hath had a particulare accompt of all things both from the K. and Chancelor as I am informed by those to whom he told it himselfe.

* * * * *

I did formerlie wreat to our freind in the east nooke showing what a particuler bussines I fund heir occasioned by a lettir Ro: Montgomrie had receved from Major Buntin[a] about the beginning of Monckis bussines with Lambert. It wes taken as if Scotland had sent ane invitation to the D. of York without ever asking the Kings advice, and you must think this wes takin so high that it did both a great deale of hurt to the D. of York and to Scotland; it wes strange mistak of such a lettir as Buntin hath showen us now and a great rashness to be so haistly comunicat to the K. by the G. Major. Yet he maid good eneugh apologie for it, for he said that you thought the King in Spane and since the bussines wold not admitt of a delay yow had thought it necessare to send to the Duke who yow knew wes at Brussels. This wes eneugh if there had beene any suche thing intended by yow, yet it wes ill takin and such a grumbling about it that the D. wes in great paine for it. Ro: Montgomrie haueing told me this before I uent, I took ocasion to

[a] Baillie, iii. 439: "Our nobles, by his allowance, but without all engagement, sent Major Buntein to Breda, where the king was, with his sister, in a very hard condition."

speak of it to the king, telling him I had hard it, and how strangely it hath surprised me since I never hard anything the whole time of my being in Scotland which might tend that way. I told him, there being a great number of Noblemen engadged in his Ma^ties^ service, it wold be hard to give a generall satisfaction without either his Maj. sould goe amongst tham himselfe or send one of his brothers, and that wes the greatest lenth that euer I had hard thame goe in thair desires for any of his brothers, which did show that they wer so far from giveing ane invitation to any of thame except it wer his pleasure to send thame, so that on the contrairy it did show that thair intention wes not to have any of thame but through his Maj. comandis. This is the summe of what passed concerneing my message. But the face of effairis bein far changed since I left yow must mak a change likwise in your way of acting in his Ma^ties^ service, ffor it is his earnest desire that yow kep your selves als quyet as possiblie yow can, for if any thing should come to light concerneing your thoughts it might not only ruin your selves bot doe a great deale of preiudice to his effaires. The only thing as I think which we have to doe now is to stirre that Scotland may be as considerable as may be in the treaty if any be maid with the K., otheruayes our countrey may lye in perpetuall oblivion. How to give yow my councell concerneing this, I think it a hard taske. But I think Lauderdale the fittest man yow can imploy in it, for he being so weill knowin to all these in pouer now who once had high eneugh esteeme for Scotland, he is the fittest man to put thame in mynd of thair former principals and to tell thame that if they intend to keip us still as ane conquered nation, they or thair posteritie may find the truble of holding it so. To think that anything as this must be expected to flow from the K. I think it a litle strange to conjecture it, for it is to be expected that when these, who have the power of Scotland, England, and Irland offer to treat with him that he should say he cannot treat with thame without thay have Comissioners ioyned to thame from Scotland. This I have only said as my

humble thoughts. Bot I leve to yow to doe all is fitt who ar far moir able to iudge what is such, and what I am able to doe on this syde yow may be confident that I will goe about it with all zeale and faithfulnes, and if yow have any comandis for me to this purpois or any other which may concerne either the advantadge of my countrie in generall or any of your selves in particulare yow shall find me very ready to goe about it as becometh a faithfull countreyman and your faithfull servant.

JO. DAVIDSONE.

I forgott to tell yow that I never had the Kings ansur to your lettir till three dayes before Major Buntin cam hither. I could not send it till now, for want of ane ocasion.

XII.—DRAFTS OF TWO LETTERS OF LORD LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.

[23113, f. 100.]

[*Circ.* 2 May, 1660.]

Last week I presumed to give yo^r^ Maj^tie^ the trouble of a long letter. What hath been since done in both Houses and the Cittie, in order to yo^r^ service and the good succes of your gratious message, wilbe told yow by so many that it would be impertinent to repeat. Nor indeed need I say anything by so knowing a bearer,[a] who is employed by him who under God hath done this worke, to give yow a full account of those great transactions which layed the foundation of this happines we are now I hope so neir. The honest bearers activenes and usefullnes in yo^r^ service sets him farr above my recommendation; yet I cannot but beare witnes what I have seen and knowen for many years, even that God hath made him as

[a] James Sharp. See following letter from Sharp

happy ane instrument in yo^{r} service all along as any I know of his Country. He will give you so full and cleir ane acompt of persons and things heir and elswhere that I need say nothing, for he knows and will informe yo^{r} Maj^{tie} all that I know: he is above the suspition of privat ends or interests (which swayes too many mens advices beyond their duety or your reall good). In a word I dare answer for him, as much as for any subject, that his affections are wholly yo^{rs}. This is all the trouble yow shall now have from him whom yow know to be entirely yo^{rs}.

Barth, S. G.	Baxter (?)
Hide, Chancellor.	Hill, Hamond.
Clargis, D.	Cuninghame.
Morris.	Moray.
Master Onely.	Moore.

2. He is directed by Masterton to Hill as to his concerns, but he is himself farr above faction and knowes his freinds, and desires to be by yow addrest to Jones. By such a bearer it were impertinencie for me to write anything, but absolutely to referr all to him.

3. Onely, let me assure yow if Quarles or Jones interpose for Ashburnham or Wylie, they infinitely disoblige all honests men in Suffolke.

XIII.—Rev. James Sharp to James Wood, Provost of the old College, St. Andrews.[a]

[23113, f. 103.]

Reverend and deere Sir, Gravesend, May 4, 60.

I have incurred your censure by breach of my promise to wreat to yow once in the 10 dayes, and now some weeks have clapsed

[a] Formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's College. He obtained the Provostship in 1657.

since I sent yow one; it cannot be apprehendit how much tryl I have been under and through distractions, concludit under almost an impossibility to performe those duties yow may expect from me; I have wreat thrice every week to Edinburgh; they have promised me from thence to give yow a punctuall account of what I wreat, which made me with the less regrait to hazard upon that trespass. Yow have notice by the books of the late stupendious mercies which the Lord hath manifested to these kingdomes, in such a way of conviction as can leave no place for doubt that his divine hand hath more notoirly discovered itself in all the steps of these premising providences, then hath been observed in any case or place. I shall forbear to mention my observations upon these mighty operations, knowing how well yow can take notice of them, and leaving all other particulars to be communicated to yow from Edinburgh; I shall only tell yow that I have been two dayes agone surprysed with a desire from my L. Generall to carrye a message from him to the King; the requests of some of our freinds in the citty have prevailed with mee to yeeld, especially since the message doeth concerne the interest of religion as it is professed by honest men heer. I am so straitened that I cannot give yow a full account heirof, and what I wreat now is in more confusednes and haste then I could wish; I am at the wreating heirof advanced in my way to the Dounes, wher I shall have a frigott by the Generalls order to waft me over, I hope this night. I doe remember all my Reverend brethren, and hope within few weeks they shall be eased of ther troubles, and I of my toyl, when I shall be, through Gods mercy, returned in peace. Say your prayers for the help of, Sir,

Yours in Christ,

My respects to your bedfellow and daughter.

Jas Sharp.[a]

[a] It is curious that, according to Wodrow, i. 21, Sharp wrote from London to Douglas on the day on which this letter is dated at Gravesend, May 4. It will be

XIV.—From James Sharpe to James Wood.

[23114, f. 1.]

Reverend and dear Sir,

At my parting from Gravesend in my journey to Holland, I gave yow notice by a line of my going thither: G. Monck his desires did tryst with the desires from the brethren of Edinburgh for the expediency of my going over at that nick of time, that I did subscribe to that providence which did goe along with me and now hath returned me in saifety and health to London: I came very seasonably to his Majesty at Breda upon the 8 of May; I had from him an acceptance of as much kyndnes and respect as I could have wished, and an opportunity to give a full account of all the late transactions, and of the condition of our church and nation: he was pleased to admitt me 5 or 6 times to privat conferences in which he did express a great affection to Scotland and a resolution to restore us to our former liberties; I wondered to heare him speak of all the passages as to persons and things whyl he was in Scotland with as full a remembrance and exact knowledge as if they had been recently acted, and he had latly come from thence; he is indeed a most excellent prince, admirably improven by his long afflictions, and I hope therby fitted for an extraordinary blessing to these nations; he asked kyndly how it was with yow "as with others," and also with others whom he knew; I stayed 6 dayes at Breda, and

clear from extracts given by Wodrow that Sharp was playing the double game. He was supposed by the Resolution party to be going to the Hague as their agent. In reality he went as Monk's. Neal is certainly wrong in saying that Lauderdale and Crawford went with him. "At this time," says Baillie, "it was that Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Morley did poyson Mr. Sharp, our agent, whom we trusted: who piece by piece in so cunning a way has trepanned us, as we have never won so much as to petition either King, Parliament, or Council."

from thence came to the Hague, taking a transient view of Dort, Amsterdam, Harlem, Leiden, Dèlph, those goodly townes fully answering for their neatnes, splendor, strength, wealth, what I remember I have heard yow speak of them; after a weeks stay at the Hague I came over in the king's navy and landit the 25 of May some miles from Dover: the news books will give yow a full account of passages of the king's treatments in Holland which I observed to be most magnifick, of his landing at Dover, and most glorious reception in London: the gracious and glorious God who alone doeth wonders hath "by his" been all alone so wonderfully seen in these late undeserved unexpected dispensacious towards us, as that we are in extasies of joy and wonder as those that dream and cannot but hope that the issue will be such as all good men will have cause to say this is the doing of our God, we have waited for him, and will rejoyce in this his great salvacion; in which poor Scotland shall have its share by owning its deliverance from its slavery to our gracious Soveraigne, who hath come into his governement with the greatest advantages of honor, reason, esteem, affection of his people that ever prince did: God hath done great things for him, and I hope will doe great things by him: however he may be influenced as to the setling of religion in England (which I fear through the prejudice of this people against that uniformity which was covenanted for will not be such as we wish), yet what the lord hath wrought in Scotland will be perfected and not altered by his Majesty. I give a larger account of this to the brethren os Edinbergh; some are talking of calling an Assembly of Divines, others thinking of taking another way for composing matters in this Church: I hope now speedily to be returned and retired from this toylsome life: Many of our countreymen are heir; but I beleeve the king will not dispose of places and affaires relating to Scotland till he call a parliament there, which he will doe wery shortly: I had a line from yow two dayes befor my coming from the Hague. I bliss the Lord for the beginning of your recovery, which I hope

is now perfected, and yow continued to us all for the eminent service Christ hath to doe yett with yow: I thank yow for your kynd remembrance of me, which is wery refreshing, and begg your pardon yf I doe not more frequently wreat to yow: I doe remember all my reverend brethren, and commend yow with your wife and all yours to the grace of Christ, who am

Your very loving brother,
JA. SHARP.

London, May 29, 1660.

XV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.[a]

[23114, f. 6.]

Paris, 7th Jun. 1660.

The letter you may shew to whom you think fitt: this is for yourself. It is the lady from whom that letter concerning the king's Religion was sent to a Cousine of hers in England (whereof there was a Copy sent to O[ur] D[ear] C[ummer][b] by me), who endeavours with great industry[c] to get those ministers[d] to write for Episcopacy: bing set on from thence by Monsieur Brevin a Jarsey man, formerly Mr. de Turraines Chapelain, and made by the king one of his chapelains and a prebend of Durham when his M[ajesty] was last at this place. And as the Lord orders things,

[a] Preceded by a formal letter.

[b] This, and the title "gossip," appear frequently in Robert Moray's letters to Lauderdale, sometimes in connection, sometimes separately. From the contexts I am disposed to think they refer respectively to Lady Susan, daughter of James, 1st Duke, and to William, her uncle, 2nd Duke of Hamilton; but it is impossible to speak with certainty.

[c] Countess of Balcarres.—Neal (4to Ed[n]), vol. ii. ch. 4, p. 538.

[d] See below. Gauches, Drelincourt and Daillé. Neal says they were induced to write simply to assure the Presbyterians of the King's steadfastness to Protestantism. From this letter it appears that their aid was sought for *episcopacy*. Baxter says they gave it.

though I was displeased with it at first, yet I was soon pacified when I saw such a fair occasion presented to get the iudgement of so considerable a part of this church synodically, not doubting but the declaring of some, and so considerable persones, for Episcopacy, the king will thereby be the more easily induced to do what is desired,[a] as indeed he hath reason. And if so be none of these men's judgements be sent over as yet, you may, if you think fitt, assure the king they are about it, and some of them are done, for so Morus assures me. Yet choose whether you tell H[is] M[ajesty] so or not. However there cannot be a fairer opportunity wisht, (excepting onely a Nationall synode),[b] to have the judgement of the french Divines in this matter. Nor is there any thing more advantageous then to have their iudgement, therefore I am sure you will consider it as one of the noblest opportunities god ever put into your hands for doeing him, his church, your king, your country, and your conscience serviced. I had above a fortnight ago spoke to Drelincour[c] and Gauches[d] together, to bring me to some place where I might speak to them and their colleagues together. They promised it, but have not yet performed. Meantime, having met with Mr. Morus often since, I gave him a paper with 5 Queries, comprehending the chief points wherein the two Governements of church and state have clasht amongst us, to have the sense of them 5 here, in them, and withall some theses *de prelaturâ*. And it was in order to this I sent to you for the 111 propositions of Gillespy.[e] I will see if I can hammer it out. Morus hath already showed my paper to Daillé' le pere,[f] and I think Drelincour. Gaushes is clear for

[a] *i.e.*, restore Episcopacy.

[b] No national Synod was held after this date.

[c] Protestant Minister of Charenton.—Félice, *Hist. des Protestants*, p. 355.

[d] Pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris. Morus was one of his colleagues. There is a later letter from him to Lauderdale in 23115, f. 2.

[e] One of the Scotch Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, and a leading Remonstrator. His 111 Propositions against Erastianism were adopted by the General Assembly of 1647.—Hetherington, *West. Ass.* p. 312.

[f] Colleague of Drelincourt at Paris.

Episcopacy, but, if those that declare for it speak all their thoughts, it will never be as it was heretofore in England as to sole examination, ordination, iurisdiction, &c. But superintendency ad vitam, &c. And indeed this Nehushtan that hath long obtained amongst Christians of preeminency and dignity is so consonant to Originall sin that it slides easily into flesh and blood, else it had never been the stair by which Antichrist scaled not onely the top of the Church but the very heavens to put on the roof stone upon his Babel-Babylon. But I need not run out on this theam to you. If you do procure this letter from the king and I chance to be parted from hence, which, unless you send for me as I said before, I do not yet intend, send it in one of your oune either to the E[arl] of S. A[lbans] to send to M. Morus or to Monsieur le Marquis de Ruvigny, proche la Charité, aux Fauxbourgs St. Germains. It is Morus iudgement the synode will certainly declare, if the king write such a letter. And nothing can be more fair or more satisfactory. He is to be of the Synode. All this is before I see what this days poste brings. Yesterday I heard Mr. De Bois Robert tell the Queen, that the Earthquake that was at Bordeaux the 21 of this month made stones fall from the steeple of St. Michaels Church, and the Bells swing above the top. I trust not, but twenty letters say the rest. I will send now the copy of my Queries if I have time to transcribe them. I have received letters from Moub[ray], Mr. A. Bruce, and others this post, but none from you, though I be again told by two, you have writ for me by order, but I am not lyke to make great haste till I hear from you. I beleive that against Sunday last, Morus will write to the king, and you and that will help to giue opportunity for the kings writing to him. A Dieu and A Dieu.

[Robert Moray.]

XVI.—Benjamin Whichcot to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23114, f. 9.]

My Lord,

Being upon my iorney to Cambridge I had noetice given mee from King's Colledge y^t^ one of ther fellowes / the rest being generally satisfied, upon notice of his Ma^ties^ favour toward mee in respect of my place, presently tooke Horse for London to put in exception, which wilbe only and singly this, y^t^ the Colledge statute requires the Fellowes, in their election of a provost, to choose one that is or hath been Fellow of the s^d^ Colledge, which I was not, but immediatly removed from being fellow in Eman. Coll. in the yeare 1644 by authority given to the Erle of Manchester by the Lords and Commons. My Lord, this person is eligible in respect of his degree & standing, but as I conceive the Society would not willingly choose him. My Lord, I am not the first that hath been provost there that was never Fellow of Kings Colledge, for superior power hath not thought itselfe limited by that clause that directes ordinary elections. My Lord, my presumption of the continuance of yo^r^ Lordships favour encourageth this further addresse, at whose feet I leave it, desirous to acknowledge God in the disposal of myselfe. Yo^r^ Lordship will pardon hasty writing, being upon my iorney.

My Lord, yo^r^ Lordships humbly
devoted servant,
Benj. Whichcot.

June 12, 1660.

[a] There are several letters concerning this intrusion of Whichcot in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series, Charles II.), in vol. 7, Nos. 124, 125, and vol. 9, Nos. 93, 94, 95. He appears to have secured his election by free corruption of the younger fellows.

XVII.—For Mistresse Anne Red[a] in Scotland.

[23114, f. 13.]

My dear Sister, Colombe, 29 Jun. [16]60.

It is ten to one you may know more of my concernements then I do myself. I hear Mr. Red your Cousin hath writ for me by order, but have not yet seen his letter. And some say to me it is for some good purpose, but say no more, onely I shall tell you that I will be ready to flitt upon 2 dayes warning. As for M[y] D[ear] C[ummer]s matters Mr. Jeanes[b] told Sir A[lexander] Hume when they parted that shee would be very wellcome and admitted to waite assoon as shee pleased to come. But withall S[ir] A[lexander] H[ume] tells me that my L[ady] Stanhop is now made Countess of (I forget, what, but it is her first husband's father's title),[c] and waits now again upon the princess, receives her boord wages for herself and servants as before, is aswell as ever with the p[rincess], and is to come hether with her. There's all I shall need to say now, till I either hear from you or some new thing occurre. I am

My dear sister's own Brother,
[Robert Moray.]

XVIII.—Petition to Charles II.

[23114, f. 31.]

May it please your Sacred Majestie,

Wee the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Burgess of your Majesties Antient kingdome of Scotland, mett at London by your Majesties

[a] Pseudonym for Anne Maitland, Countess of Lauderdale. Baillie addresses Lauderdale and Balcarres as John and William Reid, and Mr. Red is the name by which the former is called in William Sharp's private letters.

[b] Master of the Household to the Princess of Orange.

[c] Catherine Wotton, widow of Henry, Lord Stanhope, was created by Charles II. Countess of Chesterfield for life, May 29, 1660.

auctoritie, Doe in obedience to your Majesties Command, humblie offer, That untill the meiting of the Parliament your kingdome of Scotland be governed be your Majestie and the Committee of Estates nominat in your last Parliament 1651,[a] Which Committee your Majestie may be pleased to autorise to meit at such a day as your Majestie sall thinke fitt.

And as we humblie Conceaue That the sole power of calling and holding of Parliaments, and the way and maner therof, doth reside in your Majestie, So it is Our humble opinion That at this tyme your Majestie emit a Proclamation; Calling all the Nobilite; and appoynting some gentlemen in each shyre, for Conveening such as be Law have voice in the election of Commissioners, and also the borrouis, To meit and choose Commissioners for the Parliament, at such a tyme and place as your Majestie salbe pleased to appoynt:

And it is Our humble petition to your Majestie, That all the english forces may be removed out of Scotland,[b] before the sitting of the Parliament. And (if your Majestie sall find it necessarie for the good of your service) that your Majestie employ such of your Scots subjects as you sall thinke fit for securing of the garisons, and the peace of the kingdome.[c]

XIX.—To the Kings most Excellent Majestie.

The humble petition of Hellen Hay Spouse to Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston.[d]

Sheweth,

That whereas your Majesties humble petitioner's husband having

[a] At Stirling. [b] This jealousy occurs continually in the correspondence.

[c] In answer the King promises to remove the forces as soon as possible, and orders the 1651 Committee of Estates to meet on August 23.

[d] One of the framers of the National Covenant and a Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly. He was a member of Cromwell's House of Peers, and, after the dissolution of the Parliament, became the chairman of his Council. For his trial and execution see later letters.

been lately soe unhappily lead as to become lyable to your Majesties high Displeasure, and being by your Majesties Comaund appointed to be sought for as guilty of enormous Crimes is not yet in hands, And doth not only heartily bemoane his desertion and failings whatsoever they have been, but also most humbly imploreth your Majesties gratious pardon for the same, And your petitioner and her 12 children being reduced to a poore and desolate Condicion not knowing to what hand to turne themselves for Comfort or support,

Therefore your Majesties petitioner doth in her oune and her said husband's and Children's names humbly begg your Majestie may be gratiously pleased to grant him your Royall pardon for whatsoever he hath done amisse and allow him to live at home privately in safety with your petitioner under your Majesties gracyous favour and protection in soe farr as concerneth any offence comitted in these late tymes against his duty to your Majestie and publique Concernment.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

HELEN HAY.

XX.—ROBERT DOUGLAS AND GEORGE HUTCHESONE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23114, f. 74.]

RIGHT HONORABLE, Edinburgh, November 10, 1660.

This week our Synod being conveened have drawen up an humble Return to his Maiestie in answer to his graceous letter, which your Lordship will very shortly receive from our Moderateur: whereby (wee trust) it will appear with what refreshment and joy of heart it hath been intertained among us, and that we have given a full return to every particular mentioned therein, without falling upon

other things. They have also taken course to deal with all those within their bounds who have been engaged in schismaticall wayes,[a] so as their principles and actings may be disclaimed, and this Church and kingdome secured from any future prejudice by them; and have adjourned their meeting that they may get an account of the successe thereof, and may know what to do further, as your Lordships will perceive by the Act of the Synod which we have sent inclosed. Concerning which we hope we need say no more, but that it will be the case of the whole Synod and of ourselves in our places, to witnesse our loyalty and do his Maiestie and this church and kingdome the best service we can for securing of religious and civil interests in our stations, with the most generall satisfaction of the mindes of people, after so great and long distractions and distempers. And we do indeed believe that the way of clemency and moderation toward crowd of those who have been misled by their leaders, and who shall renounce their courses (as some in this Synod are already doing) will in the issue prove most for the good of his Maiesties affairs, and we doubt not will be most acceptable to him.

About the time of our meeting we have seen from Mr. William Sharpe, a Draught of a Proclamation for calling a general assembly, which being communicated only with two or three faithful and honest Brethren, we were very much delighted with the tender resentments of the troubles of this Church, and respects to the judicatories thereof therein expressed. And we have made bold (upon conference with them) humbly to offer to your Lordship, in the inclosed Paper, a few thoughts concerning some amendments and alterations desired therein, which we put in your Lordship's hand, to be made use of, as yow in your wisdome shall think fit, as flowing from no other purpose then our reall desire to have this Church indeed settled, and the end attained in such a way as we apprehend will most effectually conduce thereunto, and commend his Maiesties

[a] See Burnet, i. Sect. 112, and Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, p. 16. Wodrow, i. 71.

moderation (wherewith we are so much refreshed) to the conviction even of those who have so foulie slidden, though many of them have been but led by others.

We do humbly crave pardon for that freqnent trouble to which we put your Lordship, and do hope and pray that God will richly reward all your work and labour of love in behalfe of this Church, now breathing for a comfortable settlement, and your particular favours unto,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's verie humble servants in Christ,

Mr. Robert Douglas,[a]

G. Hutchesone.

XXI.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond [?]

[23114, f. 75.]

Dear Sir,

Yow may think it strange that my obligements to your civilities putt upon me whyl I was at London beeing so great, I should have not all this whyl since my returne peyed my acknowledgements of them; the truth is I was apprehensive of a new journey, and till matters should come to some resolution I did forbear to wreat; now the complexion of effaires at Whythall must setle before we have our thoughts what to doe ; wee have waited for a time to sound the inclinations of the protesting brethren for an union, since ther coming home, and not finding any hint which might give us an overture for union from them we held it our duty to doe somewhat for our part: as will appear to yow by these inclosit copies; M^res^ Douglas and Hutchesone doe kyndly remember yow and desire yow

[a] See above, 23113, f. 66. Douglas was associated with Sharp to represent the Revolutioners in London, but was craftily induced by the latter to stay in Scotland that he might have a free field.

to be at the paines to deliver this letter to M. Calamy or M. Ash with as many copies as yow shall think fitt, and to some others of your acquaintance. Were I not straitned with time I would have wreat to M. Manton, but shall doe it speedily, and therfore shall not putt yow to the trouble of giving him one, till yow receive a letter for him, yow may give one to M. Case. I shall putt yow to farther trouble as to send to Whythall to the Admirality chamber upon tuesdayes or thursdayes in the fornoon the other inclosit to Major Robert Beale one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty: it hath a paper in it of great concernement to M. Blair of St. Andrews, and, least it should be miscarried, I give yow the trouble of Conveyance of it. Mr. Douglass and the ministers heir think they are obliged to your kyndes to me, and wish yow were heir with them to serve in the lords wineyard: I long to know how it is with yow, and must beg your pardon for this hasty scribling: to the lords grace yow are commendit by

Your loving brother and servant,

JA. SHARP.

I have sent to yow a dozen of copies.

XXII.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23114, f. 76.]

MY DEIR LORD, Ed. the 13 of november, [1660].

I have reseved yours wherin you give me an acount of to much trubell you have bein at in the particolar I urot formirlie to you of, for what ever releats to me if it be to com thorou your hands I dou positiflie concloud my self sequr as to the particolars I shall speack to you of it at miting, and at present shall not so much as regreat the troubell I have bein to you in it. I am still presid on to wreat to you in favers of giltie persons and for other businesis, bot when I am not selous in a busines I have and shall meack yous of a boroud

hand, bot when my desayrs ar serieous it shall be in this caynd of scribling which I am so much asheamid of[a] that I intreat you may leat nobodie reid my letirs bot your self. My deir Lord, as my intrist and promisis and my resolusion tays me neuer to sipreat from you and your conserns so I shall ever be mufing in whatsoever steasion I am in to aproufe my self as frindlie and servisabell to your Lo/ as I can, and faynding hou considerabell the buros in this cindom ar I haue struck in uith sum of the most considerabell of them, and hes presid in prayfit that thay may meack ther adresis to your Lo/ and oun you for ther patron, which I am confident thay will verie spidilie dou. Others ar pressing for an intrist in them, bot this will give you so moch abouffe all others that I conseve it verie considerabell. Nou I most let you cnou that Sir Alexander Wadirburne is a person I meack much yous of, and altho I supos others uill pretend to be the douirs of it when thay faynd this uay uill be teackin, I min by the neou cnight, yit I can ashour you Sir Alexander Wadirburne heas a greater tsrock [strock ?] then six of hem, and is most desayrous to serve you in this busines, and I will underteack to you hie shall serue you feathfulle in everie thing els you will imploay him in. This day ther is on gray provist of aberdin teackin jurnie for London, what his busines is I do not cnou, bot it is to desayr sumuhat for the toun, and hie heas tuintie thousand mark with him to give to anie who will underteack his busines. He is to meack his adres by on docktir dun, who I heir is his Magistis phisisine and scild in alcheme. I thought fit to leat you cnou this that if you pleas you may put anie frind on it. I cnou not uhat uill be the event of this miting conserning the aray, bot the cuntrie expects great eas. My deir Lord, let me neuer be so unhapie as not to be acountid by you

Your uncheangabell

ROTHES.

[a] He writes an abominable hand.

XXIII.—Copie of Earl of Middleton's Instructions.

[23114, f. 88.]

Charles R. 17 December, 1660.

Instructions to John Earl of Middleton, our Commissioner to our Parliament of Scotland.

1. Yow shall repaire to Scotland, and upon the "eleventh" last of December nixt, yow shall present your Commission to our Committee of Estates, because there is yet no Privie Councell authorised by us.

2. Yow shall ride in State the first day of our Parliament, and at the first meeting present your Commission and our Letter.

3. Yow shall indeavor that our Antient Royall prerogative be asserted, & the just Liberties of our people setled as they enjoyed them under our Royall ancestors according to Law.

4. And for that purpos yow shall indeavor that seing it is our undoubted right, inherent in our Croune, to call and dissolve Parliaments and Conventions of the Estates of our Kingdome, that the holding of the Convention of Estates 1643 be declared against, because it did meet and sit without our dearest fathers indiction and authority: As also that the Parliament 1649 be declared null.

5. And because in other Parliaments, which met by his authoritie, divers Acts have past during the late unhappie differences which entrinched upon our prerogative, yow shall endeavor that such acts as shalbe found to entrinch on our antient prerogative be rescinded: And particularly that act concerning the naming of Officers of State Councellors and Session.

6. And because it is our resolution to settle that our kingdome in a firme and lasting unity and peace, you shall give our Royall Assent to such ane Act of oblivion as shall be drawen up by our Parliament for securing of our Subjects there, with such exceptions as our Parliament shall make; which act, together with the excep-

tions and the reasons of them, yow shall first transmitt to us before it be past, or anything executed against the excepted persons.

7. Yow shall endeavor the incouraging of trade and manufactories in that our kingdome, and Plantations in our dominions in America or elswhere.

8. Yow shall indeavor the releif of those who have been eminent sufferers for us and our authority during the late usurpations, and particularly that those whose Estates were Confiscated by the usurpers be not burdened with their Annuall rents during the time their Estates were forfaulted and out of their possession.

9. Yow shall indeavor to compose that difference concerning Debitor and Creditor [a] in such a way as may be most sutable to Law and acceptable to all ranks of people.

10. Yow shall take care that Lord Blantyre, Sir James Campbel of Lawers, Mr. Robert Hodge, Mr. David Drummond, and Dougal Mcpherson be not punished in their persons or Estates till our pleasure be knowen.

11. Yow shall earnestly indeavor the restoring of the Estate of the late Earl of Forth and Branford.

12. Yow shall indeavor the restoring of the late Earl of Montrose and the burying of his bodie.

13. You shall indeavor to settle the Rankes of our Nobilities, and that our Lord Chancellor, Lord Thresaurer, Lord Privie Seale, Lord President of our Councell, have place before all our Nobility, and our Secretary before all those of his own ranke.

14. Yow shall give to our Secretary frequent accounts of your proceedings, and observ such further orders as we shall send yow.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 29 day of November, 1660, and of our reign the 12th yeer.

By his Majesties Command,
LAUDERDAILL.

[a] See Note to Letter V.

XXIV.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.[a]

[23114, f. 90.]

My dear and much valued freind,

My long silence must needs render me obnoxious to your censure and jealousie of me, whom yow have obliged by so many tyes, as cannot but indere yow to me, unless I would shake off all bonds of gratitude and sense of deservings: I could make some Apology for my neglect which yet would take up more paper and time then now I can spare, and therfor shall cast myself upon your pardon and wonted indulgence, and shall not offer to excuse from my lasiness and pressure of busines since my return. I designed to have acoasted yow by my brother, but at his first coming to London he wrot to me that he was to be immediately dispatched, which putt a stop to my intendit trouble to be given yow by him: now I shall tell yow without complement that I am infinitly your debtor and think myself bound to be as much your welwisher and servant, if it can be of significancy as yow can desire, and hope yow will not measure my respects to yow by the expressions therof by letter; had I my wish I would rejoice to have the opportunity to evidence what a value I have for my dear Mr. Drummond, but I forget myself when the pen runnes in this strain. Befor my coming to Scotland some of the Remonstrators were putt under restraint, of which yow heard; there are some here who can bear me witness how much I indeavoured to prevent the exercising of severity towards them and what pains I took is known to M. Blair to obtain an indulgence to M. Samuel Rutherford: but, frater, the principles spirit and actings have been so fatal to the quiet and honor of this poor country, to

[a] Patrick Drummond was a Presbyterian minister in London. How these letters came into Lauderdale's possession is not stated. But they are evidently written on the supposition that Lauderdale was likely to see them; and from a note by Drummond to a letter following it seems clear that he sent them on with certain passages marked, so as to catch Lauderdale's eye. See footnote to p. 60.

the peace and reputation of this Church, as I am affrayed God hath some controversie against them: ther foly of late hath and yet doeth betray them to those inconveniencies as one greivous to honest sober men here. I am affrayed the consequences thereof shall not only be preejudiciall to themselves, but to others who are not involved in ther guilt: ther may be a report of a persecution with yow, but beleeve it all Moderation Consistent with the publick saifety is used towards them, and would they disown those tenets which are condemned by all Protestant Churches, and destructive of the authority of the king and the publick interest, nothing would be denyed to them which could be rationally proposed: some of the leading men amongst them did needlessly stage themselves, and are so farr involved that indifferent men find difficulty as to ther coming off. I have no particular account of the effairs of the Church of England, but what I perceive by the King's declaration I am sure by one clause therein, relating to the declaration pressed upon him at Dumferlin[a] he hath done us a great deal of right, and sayed more for our vindication then we could have expected: I shall intreat yow to present my respects to Mr. Calamy, M. Ash, M. Manto, M. Bates, and let me know how it is with them and how they are satisfied with the present condition of effairs; I hope yow pay your wonted visits to my Lord Lawderdaill whose deservings towards his Mother Church renders him very precious to all honest men heir: they are renuing ther invitations to me to enter the vacant place in the new Colledge, which I did communicat to yow; I confess I inclyn rather to goe thither then to Edinburgh; if yow can be induced to embrace a call to a considerable congregation in Fife, I can undertake for clearing your way and doe think yow might doe service to Christ and this Church, and have matter of more satisfaction to employ your talent in your

[a] August, 1650. He renounced Popery and Prelacy, and declared he would "have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant, and no friends but the friends of the Covenant."

own countrey then abroad; pray yow take this hint as serious, and let me know if yow can be prevailed with; I am sure my Lord Crafurd will assist me in this desire, and my Lawderdaill would not be so injurious to Scotland (though I had no claim to make upon the interest of Craill) as to advise yow to spend the best of your time where yow are, when a door may be opened for you heer: I shall be at this place during the session of this approaching Parliament, and be sure to give yow oftner trouble by letters then I have done, and till I hear from yow and know your mind I will not intertain thoughts of any other. Pray yow speak to Mr. Creok, Stationer, to send me the Oxford doctors peece against the Covenant, and any other later peeces of that subject. I have Crofton, and the answer of the other to Gauden: desire him also to send me Amisæus, Barclaius de potestate regum: and if yow can fall upon Bishop Maxwell of S. S. Majestas regum: I shall send to him for more afterwards, but these he may send at the first ships and the price which shall be peyed to him: I shall add no more till the next, but that I am

Your loving brother and reall servant,
JA[MES] SHARP.

Endorsed, "1660, December 11."

XXV.—JAMES SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23114, f. 92.]

MY DEAREST LORD, Edinburgh, 13 December, 1660.

I was honoured with your lordships letter by my Lord Crayfurd, and though it be greivous to me and others to be disappoynted of your Lordships presence at the ensuing parliament, yet upon after considerations that your beeing with the king may be more usefull

to this poor Church and Countrey and satisfactory to yourselve, submission in this and prayer for your Lordships well being shall be my endeavour. By what I have heard from my lord Crafurd and others, I have large matter of thoughts of heart, which I shall not suffer to brake forth into those passionat expressions to which I am tempted; I must have my recourse to your lordships discerning, and experienced noblenes, and therfor shall not say much by way of complaint of my infelicity, trusting your lordship will not judge me to be such a fool as to have resigned myself to the lusts of men in prosecution of ther privat ends, when I know not for what: were ther no respect to be had to the publick tyes and the honor of this poor kingdom (which will not be a litle concerned in the change of Church matters) yet tendernes of the kings interest should sway with those who are faythfull to his service. My Lord, I am not for medling with the governement of the Church of England, and all Ministers who are not Remonstrators are of the same opinion; I am for the Kings prerogative against those diminutions which our contests have putt upon it: I think the Church of England should be more wary and tender of ther own peace then to endeavour the disturbance of this Church; I think the Kings interest to be much concerned in having Scotland united in an intire obedience to his royall authority, nothing can be more prœjudiciall to this then the offering at this time to change the governement of this Church; the fatalities which attended the violent attempts of former times should give a shrewd document for this time; I should prevaricat with your Lordship and be unfaythfull to the kings service of which I hope yow will not suspect me, if from the knowledge I have of the inclinations of ministers and people heir I should say that attempts of introducing changes upon us will be welcome or prove successful; they speak without ground in my opinion who say that any considerable party amongst the ministers will appear for episcopacy; those of most understanding and interest I meet with amongst the nobility, gentry, and burrowes are convinced of

the unexpediency and danger of such motions, to be made in Parliament; I am confident the person of Flisk[a] is fully under this Conviction; your lordship and the kirks freinds here will not want the prayers and fidelity of honest ministers; I shall adde no more at this time, but in spyte of malice and calumnie I shall crave leave to say this, that in verbo sacerdotis I never did your lordship disservice, and doe value my interest in, and obligation to your lordiships favour more then of any subject alyve, and whyle I breathe trust to approve myself

Your lordships most oblidged faythfull servant,

JA[MES] SHARP.

My lord, I was bold some weeks agoe to recommend James Baird of Auchmeden to your lordships favour; shall I crave leave to renue my intreaty?

XXVI.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23114, f. 94.]

SIR, London.

Having come to Edinburgh upon the 12 currant I received three of your letters, the last of december 5 came first to hand, the other two I had after from Thomas Moncrief; I confess I was not a litle startled with them all three, for which you will say I had cause upon my reading of the matter of them so expressed as if those calumnious reports of me had taken impression upon yow; since ever I knew how to make and use friendship my endeavour hath been so to observe the law of it as not to give way to my thoughts to injure my freind, till I had acquainted him with my

[a] I am unable to settle to whom this pseudonym refers: it occurs in later letters, but not so as to give a clue.

jealousie, and known what he could say for his justification: I shall not now give yow a returne to your descants, and shall doe yow the right of giving beleef to your affection that they were not intendit for me, though I may suspect that when you wrott them I was not altogether out of your prospect. As to the matter of your letter I shall in the first place thank you for your freedom therin, as an speciall testimony of your freindship and kyndnes which I doe so much value, as it would be exceedingly greivous to me if by my carriage I should diminish, much more lose, my interest in it: I shall not now inquyre of the ryse and grounds for those reports, hoping that that smoak will wanish as other endeavours formerly to sullie my name have through the lord's mercy to injured innocency been blasted; but if those considerable persons yow say doe suggest my integrity be such who know me and bear good will to me, I shall be the more afflicted, yet not without expectation that ther charity will lead them to forbear sentencing of me till they have proof of my guilt. Two dayes agone I had by a letter from a friend at London notice that a great person there had expressed his great dissatisfaction with the letter of the synod of Fife laitly printed at London, and layed the blame of it, and particularly of the complement in the close upon me, adding that my practises since my coming to Scotland had prejudiced the king's service, and my carrying of the king's letter,[a] and engaging all the synods of Scotland to pay ther returne of thankfulness for it, had so fixed Presbyterian governement heer that for many years it were in wain to attempt the braking of it; some of my freinds heer tell me they have heard of dissatisfactions with me at London upon that account, and by your letters I find I am buffeted by another hand: patience and mens sibi Conscià recti, are the surest fences I can look to; but for your satisfaction and of those who have any regard to me, I shall give my answer as at the barr of those who

[a] See Wodrow, vol. i. p. 80.

will take upon them to judge me in those matters, to your three Interrogatories; to the first two simpliciter negando: if any person in England doe say that I did engage directly or indirectly to endeavour the alteration of the Governement of the Church of Scotland they speak without ground from me and doe me wrong: next since my coming home I have not spoke with any one minister disaffected to the governement,[a] and have been so farr from contryving and laying methods with ministers or other persons for introducing Innovations that I beleeve whoever doe intend them, they are out of hope of finding me upon ther syd. As to your 3rd Question, I think were ther no other tye upon me but the Concernement of that noble person[b] in the kings letter who hath so much countenanced and highly oblidged me, I were an ungrate unworthy man, if I should be accessory to any thing which may lessen the esteem and account which all honest ministers heer bear to that letter and the procurer of it; but I tender the kings interest and reputation more (which will have the surest and most lasting foundation in the hearts of good people) then to indeavour the woyding of that letter which hath been so satisfactory and refreshing to the most of the Church of Scotland: I have the vanity to say that I have acted in my poor way and suffered for the kings interest in times of greatest danger to the hazarding of my life, the impairing of my health, the præjudicing of my meanes of subsistence when others who now pretend much for it durst not or were not in capacity to doe for it; I have done more for the interest of Presbyterian governement in Scotland then any minister who can accuse me. I am of the opinion that whoever will endeavour at this time the change of Church governement heer, they shall nether doe the king nor the countrey service; this is my support that the Lord knoweth that regard to the interest of the king and this poor countrey did influence me in my actings, and not respect to my

[a] Of the Church. [b] Lauderdale.

own advantage, which if I had mind it I might have procured by a more promising way then this I have taken; I am no declaimer against the governement of the Church of England since I came home, much less did I conceive it to be proper for me whyl I was ther, my occasions led me to converse with men of differing opinions and interests, calmnes as to all I thought did best become me.

I had the opportunity to be knowen to some prime episcopal men who I suppose are now Bishops; all that ever I spoke to them in reference to Church matters heer did amount to no more but this; that the actings of some of our Church men had rendered the Governement ouned in this Church obnoxious to exceptions by reason of the encroachments made upon the kings authority in Civilibus and the evacuating of it wholly in ecclesiasticis; but I conceived now ther would be no great difficulty of restoring the kings interest to its lustre in Scotland; and if I were convinced that moderat Presbyterian Governement could not be as consistent with the king's interest as Episcopall, I would disclaim it. I remember I sayed to the king whyl my lord Lauderdaill was by, that now his majesty had an opportunity to secure his interest in the Church of Scotland, and if it were not done I was not to be blaimed; the king did then smyle, saying to me you will be counted a malignant when you come home; I have since my return professed to the brethren with whom I had occasion to speak of these matters that I see no way for the Church of Scotland to redeem themselves and ther doctrine and practices from the imputations which lye upon them, and to secure the order of this Church, but to disown whatever hath been preejudiciall to the kings interest; and make it appear that his authority may be as much owned in this Church as in any other of his dominions, for I saw evidently that for us ministers in Scotland ther is no reserve but in the kings favour and countenancing of us. I confess if this be guiltines I have my share of it since my coming home, who have not without success endeavoured to make brethren sensible of the

equity and advantages therof; I beleeve the best of our ministers who are known to be fixed for Presbyterian Governement are disposed to yeeld more in Church matters to the king then before to any of his Royall progenitours since our reformation from Poperie, and for this end my desire and wish is for a generall Assembly immediatly after the Parliament, by which I am confident the King, with the consent and good lyking of our Church, shall have what can be reasonably proposed for his authority *in ecclesiasticis.* This is all the designe I have been plotting, and this I doe own, conceiving that the kings service, this poor kingdomes peace, weal, and reputation, will be better consulted and prowydit for in this way then by attempting that change of Governement which by any observation I can make I beleeve will be found a hard provence to undertake: and whatever may be the pretensions of some either with yow or heir of introducing episcopacy into this Church, I have cause to question ther reality, and doe think that when the matter is putt to the push it will be found that the setting up of Bishops is not at the bottom; I am not convinced that conscience or zeal as to the matters of Church Governement doeth sway much with some men, and I fear the most will unite in this one designe to treade upon the ministrie and render us wile and contemptible, and am preesaging that this will be prosecuted to that extremity that in a short current of time it will open a door to bring in that with all disadvantages which most would avoyd. I shall be content to faile in this prognostick. Had I been a contriver of any other designe I think the litle experience I have had of the affairs of the times and condition of persons might have taught me to have conveyed the management of it with more dexterity and sickernes then can be supposed to be done by me who since my returne had no letter from England safe what my lord Lauderdaill was pleased to honour mee with, and one from Sir Robert Murrey from the Earl of Tweddale, the Countess of Balcarres, and yourselve, and one this week from a North Countrey gentleman at London; nor did I wreat to any but to those per-

sons named safe, one to the Earl of Middletoun in recommendation of a freind, and another about 20 dayes agone, which I thought was fitt for me to doe befor his coming down, having received civilities from him beyond sea and at London; one I sent also to Newburgh upon the same inducement, but to nether of them did I wreat of any particular relating to Church or State.

My dear freind, these reports are industriously raised and spread of me; and some from another fountain then is supposed; I am looked upon as one having some interest heer; whyl I was at London I had favour in the eyes of the King; my dearest Lord Lauderdaill was pleased to own me, I am suspected as wholly his and that not without cause; this hath exposed me to envie and obloquie; I find I have bitter ennimies upon that score, who doe make it ther work to blast me; I am a Scotsman, a presbyter; the plot is to keep this poor inconsiderable nation in a slavish dependency; I hope I shall be accessory to the striving of the lusts of men.

Howbeit my heart may charge me as to the root and inclination, yet the course of my life I bliss the Lord will not give evidence of my ambition and covetousnes, I have served the interests of others more then my own; I never did seek anything of any; I owe nothing to any to ingage my dependance; safe to the King and my noble Lord Lauderdaill in that matter you had a hand in, and rather then that should bring any taint upon me I can with greater willingnes part with it then I did accept of it; whatever lott I may meet with I scorne to prostitut my conscience and honesty to base unbecoming allurements; what considering man will judge to be my snaire, or sentence me to a folly and madnes I know not for what; no person obliged me but my Lord Lawderdaill; my integrity and fidelity to his lordship I can justify in spyt of malice and calumnie, and hope to retain it whyl I live. Pardon this tedious scribbling, my perplexity drives the pen I know not whither; if yow change the thoughts yow once had of me whyl yow were privy to my most

secret plottings and knew my honestie and singlenes, yow will doe me wrong; this must be a greater blast then I can imagine which hath shaken yow, but I hope yow will doe right to him who shall never cease to be

Your affectionat freind and servant,

JA[MES] SHARP.[a]

Edinburgh, 13 December, 1660.

XXVII.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23114, f. 96.]

MY DEAR FREIND, Edinburgh, 13th December, 1660.

Whyl I am closing the other M. D. Ferguson cometh to me, and by discourse with him I have some notice of those persons and speeches which I suppose gave occasion to your pathetick letters; I adore Providence for this discovery and thank yow for your freindly monitions; but I am amased at the horridnes of those calumnies; shall I be judged a monster of ingratitude and one given up to the height of infatuation for I know not for what? I may be charged as well with Conspiracy against his sacred Majesty as prævarication in my Lord Lawderdaills Concernement. For my innocency as to that I appeal to God, to the king, and to my Lord Crafurd, who can give testimony to my integrity therin, and I would begg it upon my bendit knees as the greatest favour that my Lord Lawderdaill would be pleased to ask his Majestie if ever I spoke to his præjudice, but in that concernement did tell the king, that he could not by any act doe greater right to his

[a] It is worthy of notice that throughout this letter Sharp is careful to regard the whole question of change of Church government purely from the political side. It would not have suited him, in a letter for Lauderdale's eye, to have suggested the Jus Divinum, even if he had believed in it. Nor does he, though careful to save appearances, actually condemn Episcopacy.

service in Scotland, nor satisfie the Ministers and good people therin, more then to imploy my Lord Lawderdaill in that trust, and at my taking leave his Majesty knows what gratulation I expressed upon that account. Of all forgeries the devill could have suggested, this was farthest from my thoughts: who have sayed this of me they may say any thing, nothing can be imagined to be more cross to my obligations and interest: well I am a Scot and a Presbyter, at distance so I cannot answear for myself, and so am obnoxious to this unhumanity: if you have any regard to me let me have an account of this by the next: I wish you may never experience the bitternes of such an affliction. I am yours,

JA[MES] SHARP.

XXVIII.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.[a]

[23114, f. 106.]

DEAR FRIEND,

By the other poast I sent you a plain and large confession though wreatin in confusion and haste. Now I shall adde, that had I been an undertaker when I was in England sure my folly had been egregious to have followed the way I have done since my coming to Scotland, which hath been to engage the most of the Synods and presbyteries to a thankfull entertainment of his Majesties gracious letter, and a due acknowledgement of the good offices done to this kirk by my Lord Lauderdaill; next to the interest of the king, which heirby I will awouch hath not been a litle advantaged. I protest befor the judge of all the world I made it my work that my Lord Lauderdaill might have his deserved esteem amongst all honest ministers and people wher my word or wreat could reach; of this service, though insignificant to his Lordship, I am not ashamed nor shall repent; and if myself and concernements were

[a] This long letter is evidently written to throw dust in the eyes of Presbyterians. Sharp does not commit himself in a single line.

of any value, I would with more cheerfulness committ all to sinking or swiming with his lordship upon whatever adventure then with any else I know; this is an expression of vanity yow will say, but a man rubbed upon in his honesty (which I thank God he hath hitherto in all changes preserved without stain) may be indulged in this folly: I have reason to know so much of that noble person's worth and lye under so infinit obligations to him, that sure I should be the basest and most ungratefull wretch of any this miserable countrey doeth afford if the Earl of Lauderdaill his interests and concernements be not most dear to me. I perceive that honest ministers and I are disreputed by some upon suspicion of our fixednes to our endeared lord. For my part I think I am honored upon that account, and as honest ministers have no cause of doubting of his lordships favour and patrocinie, so I can be an undertaker for ther fidelity to his lordship, and am confident they will labour in wain who think to take off the generality of the ministers of Scotland from ther dependance and relyance upon my lord Lauderdaill. There conjunction I trust is by a surer tye fixed, then to be dissolved by the apprehensions of some with yow: if I tell yow what refreshing joy it is to me to find my good Lord Crafurd and Lord Lawderdaill so firmly twisted [?] as it portends good to this poor endangered Church, yow will beleeve me. A Fife minister lately come from London with a gift for tripling his pension tells us that some there are offendit that all addresses from ministers to the King are made by my Lord Lawderdaill, and by whom else can we make them, and that the King was much satisfied with the act of the Synod of Mers, which was not addressed by Lord Lawderdaill, and that he wondred nothing was done by Lowthian. The synod of Lowthian sitts a month after that of the Mervs and Tevidaill, and sent the account of ther returne to the King's letter to my Lord; and since they have proceedit so effectually with the Remonstrators of ther bounds as they have deposed one minister, suspendit another, and brought the most of the rest to disclaim under ther hands ther former, and

acknowledge ther sin in ther opposition to the King and reflections upon his authority. Mr. Douglas desires me to intreat my Lord Lawderdaill to give his Majestie assurance that no minister within our provences of Lowthian and Fife, and we hope in all the rest, shall be tolerated who shall not disclaim whatever they have spoke or owned in præjudice of his Majesties authority, and had we a Generall Assembly, whatever could be desered for satisfying his Majesty as to the repairing of the injuries done to his authority in times past, and for securing of it from pernitious attempts for the future, would be most unanimously yeeldit unto by the whole Church: this yow may signify to his lordship, and I having wreatin the last post would spare the trouble of reading my signification of it by an immediat letter, conceiving he will not take this by yow in ill parte, if his lordships conveniency would allow to wreat a line to M. James Wood of the reception of the letter of the Synod of Fife, it were not amiss. I forgott by my last to tell yow that from a suggestion from London, that the Earl of Middletoun was displeased that he had receaved no letter from any ministers in Scotland Mr. Douglas and others, upon the score of ther former acquaintance at St. Andrews and the Tower of London, did wreat a letter to him which in regard of some expressions we hear did not rellish: yow see how things as they come in hand drop from the pen.

Who these considerable persons are who you doe assure suspect me, I cannot divign, but if right be done to me they will find ther suspicions causeles: I remember yow have sometime merrily called me a politician. I have had occasions to give some proof to yow that I was an honest Scotchman and hope to live and dye one, and never to ingage in that which doeth appear to me to be prejudiciall to the interest of my countrey, which had it not weighed with me above my privat, I wanted not proffers of more promising accommodations in England, then in these times can be expected in Scotland; I have a . . . . . of vanity upon my consciousness

that I did in my poor way and sphear endeavour to serve my countrey faithfully. I acknowledge I have found you a faythfull freind, and take your letters as a recent demonstration of it, and that you concerne yourselve in my integrity and honesty I hope yow shall not meet with disappointment upon that account, whenever I designe anything to the præjudice of the State or Church I promise yow shall be privy to it, and therfor if reports flye abroad (from which the most innocent in these times can not ensure to himself exemption) let them not take impression till yow know what account I can give which in poynt of honesty as a Scotsman and minister I hope I shall make good to all men. If the late sugillations have had any rise from this I shrewdly suspect the hand of Mistris Christian[a] who loves you as she doeth me upon one and the same score, what infusion she hath indeavoured to putt into some of her seax heer. Who may have transmitted that poyson of asps to my blasting there I know not. I shall reserve My quarrell to yow for your charging me that I had consulted more my interest and repute, if I had done more and spoke less; I can say this that though nether my imployment, duty, nor disposition ledd me to be a sollicitour for busines of such nature yet none of my countrey men have cause to complain of my neglect of freindly offices as occasions served; much less those who could expect nothing from me upon the account of engagement, oblidgement or relation, and I beleeve I did more towards gratifications of that nature then could have beeu expected from one of my condition; when I know the persons who have occasioned this monition I shall be more satisfied. Let me close with this, how can I be charged with the love of money I know not; for I profess to yow my last journey cost me 40 peeces over and above my allowance, and I had not sexpence all the time I was at London besyds of any person; and for what the King by his paper was pleased to grant me when the Exchequer shall be in condition to satisfie the cravings

[a] ?

of those who will not be denyed and will be preferred to me, I may 20 years hence make some reckoning upon it, for at present there are more sutors referred to the Exchequer then are lyk to be satisfied these score of years. For ambition, if I have what many of my Countreymen of all ranke (I bless God) doe give me upon apprehension of my beeng of some use to the publick interest I know not why I should aspire to that respect which any man who is not blindit can dream in this age will be payed to a Scots Bishop; for other conveniences, through the Lords allotement of a comfortable portion I need not envy any fatt income which from the poverty of Scotland can be expected in these times, and sure yow will not think me such a fool as to runne those risks yow mention for a thing of nought. I must brake of, the pen runns into this extravagancy: but I hope yow will by the first let me know if these my letters have come to hand, and beleeve that I am

unchangeably yours in all service,

JA[MES] SHARP.

Edinburgh, december 18, 1660.

Present my most humble service to the Countess of Balcarras and my much honoured Sir Robert Murrey.

XXIX.— FRAGMENT OF LETTER FROM JAMES SHARP [a] TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE [?]

[23114, f. 126.]

[end of 1660].

* * * * our infatuating and ruining distempers are not yet cured & by all hath come upon us in wayes of judgement and mercy we will not learne to be wise.

[a] In this letter Sharpe comes out in his real colours. The letter is a private one, to Lauderdale, and his fierce hatred of the Protesters and entire want of scruple have full expression. It seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Burton, who in vol. vii. of his *History of Scotland*, pp. 409, *seq.* quotes from succeeding letters.

The most of the remonstrating party pursue the fatal way takin up in the 48 & prosecuted ever since; they will have the king in his family, carriage, governement, ministers, and the 3 kingdomes in the administration, as of religion, to be wholly conformed to ther fancied modell and absurd dictats, else they will abominat him in ther heart & in ther waise doe what they can to weaken his interest and reputation with the people. I fear ther can be no remedy against this malady without exercising severity upon the leading impostors, Guthiree, Gillespy, Rutherford, which will daunt the rest of the hottheads who in time may be beat into sound minds and sober practises. When many here together are takin notice of, putt under restraint and to subscribe bonds, it drives them to stick together, wheras the readier way to render them insignificant seemeth to be to divyde & separat them, by not taking further notice of those who are but misled, then by dismissing them with a sharp rebuke and threatning in case they obstinatly percist in ther seditious preaching and shutting up close the cheef sticklers; in a short time the folly of ther way would thus be manifest and they not beeng exposed to the pity of the people (as by imprisonement they are) would be left to stand upon ther own legs & lose ther interest, &c. so ther busling would cease of it self.

Were your Lo/ heer yow would wonder to see the ministers who are not of the protesting way to be so loyall calm moderat in reference to the king & civill power considering the principles have been owned & the way followed by the cheef & most of them, of late years befor and since 48: were the game at the Isle of Wight to be reacted ther would be few of those hairbrain men (then mentioned your Lo/ knowes by whom) now found. I trust we shall make more of a king and be more tender of his interest then we have been: but it will never be well till those antimagistraticall & pernitious principles started in the time of contest with the king & his adherents by Guthree and such as he, and now by those preytendit to be the doctrine of the church of Scotland, be disclaimed as

seditious, erroneous, contrare to the protestant confessions, and none permitted to bear charge in church or state who does owne them; till then this poor harassed kingdom shall never be rid of trouble, the king & state or church of England secured against the malignity of evre infection. I am confident a generall assembly called immediatly after the parliament would make way for this, & in poynt of duty to the king the whole ministry & body of this kingdome might be in a short time reduced.

It would not be forgotten, as most conducing to the forsaid end, that the Commissionar to the parliament be instructed to appoynt a visitation for all the universities, with an express charge that none who are known to have been of perverse principles & disaflection to the king's authority bear charge in any of the universities.

The protesters, though they can not except against the king's letter, yet maliciously give out that it is not to be trusted, and what ever is professed by it the designe is to bring in prelacy into this church: and for the gaining of beleef to his M. Gillespy hath sayed to diverse persons that of late he hath been dealt with to offer his service for introducing preylacy, upon which he would be not only pardoned but rewardit with the highest promotion & the king's favour: this I am confident is an egregious lye.

I doe & ever shall according to my bound duty so farr concerne myself in what may relate to your Lo/ as to give your notice of what cometh to my knowledge, & upon this account it is that I shall give yow the trouble of these stories. At my returne thither, I found that the report of your owning the Episcopall party, that Dr. Morley had sayed they were assured of yow, y^{t} yow were most devoutly imployed at the Liturgy with a loud voyce joyning your amen (all this was spread by Mrs. Gillespy), had takin with some, but upon my telling them the truth they are much satisfied, yea they doe not except against your presence at the divin service in thee chapell, but think that your relation to the king may give you

a dispensation. By the coming down of other men of late yow are reported to be wholly presbyterian, & looked upon as a freind to that party in England; upon this account you have the Episcopall party against yow, &, though the king caries fair, yet, knowing yow to be thus affected, yow are not really in favour nor will yow signifye much in publick affairs. This is rumoured here by many of quality, such is the folly of our men (?). Some say also y^{t} you are observed to doe favours to some of the remonstrator way, of Argyls party, that by your procurement the Laird of Cadell hath gott a gift of £00 pound a year belonging to the king: and that yow have undertakin to deal for S. Ja: Stuart (who hath offered money to some here to be his freinds) (pardon my folly in scribling thus).

It is wondered here that there is no returne from your Lop. to the many dispatches about the busines of the protesters: my Lord believe it there would be some course takin with them in time; they will have themselves to be the only faythful in the land to the exclusion of others who are not of ther party, & seem to crave only protection & encouragement from the king, when yet they speak ther intention to impose upon his Ma. & all his kingdomes, else your Lop. may know what the tendency of that paper dryves at: they insinuat the lyking of his restauration, when these years past they have made it the burden of their song in public and private, that God had rejected the king & his family as he had done Saul and his house; they take the impudence to press him in the petitory part of that petition, and to charge him with his coronation oath, when they have avowedly excepted against his beeng crowned as the great cause of God's wrath against the land. The truth is we have been so many years so farr out of the channell of subjection and obedience to the magistrat as we know not how to returne to it. M. Douglas hath laitly preached against the way the Committee of Estats purpose to order him to print his sermon: he is more

right in this poynt then I could have expected: the king's letter I trust shall convert all the sober ministers and people of Scotland. God Almighty bless your Lp. J. S.

XXX.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.[a]

[23115, f. 25.]

Dear Sir,

I have receaved one from yow of Decemb[r] 26, another of the last; and doe pey to yow my hartie thanks for the account yow give me of your paines & care to prevent & take of those impressions which the folly, falshood, and malice of surmissings might have caused of me; if I stand right in my most noble & dearest × Lords opinion, in which I trust my integrity shall preserve me, I shall make small reckoning of the blastings from the tongues which folly & perversenes have & doe still designe against me. Yow know I have been alone upon the staige, and therfor cannot escape the canwassings(?) of persons as they are variously affected & interested. My surest fence is in God, who knoweth that my regard to the interest of my countrey & this kirk doeth preponder any selfish consideration; my dear freind, a greater testimony of your love & value of me & my name (of which I have had many proofs from yow) yow could not have shewn, then by using such freedom to me, which I beseech yow may not breake off, for I can bear more

[a] It will be noticed that in this and in succeeding letters of Sharp to Drummond marginal marks occur. These appear to have been made for Lauderdale's convenience, to whom the letters found their way. This is clear from 23115, f. 113, which contains extracts in unknown, perhaps Drummond's, handwriting, from the letters beginning Dec. 13, 1660, and which is closed by the following note: "The large one of Dec[r] 13 and of March 19 deserves all to be read over; the beginning of the places cited in the other paper is marked thus ⓘ; of this by the figures 1, 2, 3, in the margin of the letters." I am disposed to think that the marginal marks were made at a later date, and not by Drummond. For the connection between Lauderdale and Drummond, see concluding sentence of letter, No. XL. p. 90.

smartnes from yow, and my glances at your observations did not proceed from dissatisfaction, as I know yours flowed from your love & zeal for me; and as I have a full persuasion of your freindship & fidelity to me, so yow will doe me the right to be confident of myne to yow where it can be of any significancy. We are only at this odds I have need & use of yours, yow have not so of mine, yet yow having so much & often oblidged, yow give me a claim to demand the continuance. After the E. of Midleton his maj. com- × missionar had been in town two dayes he was pleased to send for me (who did not goe till I was sent for) & desired I might as the kings chaplain performe the offices incumbent to me whyl he is at table, which I could not declyn, and, being pressed to preach to the parliament upon Sunday last, I gave them two sermons upon the last verse of the 18 psalm; in which abstracting from matters relating to the Church, I spoke my conscience, & I hope truths as to our deviations in our stat actings from our true interest, our fidelity to the crown, & regard to the honor and wel beeng of our countrey. I hear some expressions are carped at & misrepresented by some women, & capricious people, but the judicious and sober were satisfied; the parliament intendit to give me ther thanks and order the printing of my sermons; but I, having notice therof, prevailed with some of the leading members to stopp that motion, since they had not givin thanks to Mr. Douglas who preached at the dounsitting, because they thought he had spoke in justification of the proceadings since 48 (which yet war ther mistake) & givin too large a testimony to the two late Dukes of Hamiltoun; yet after in a meeting of the Lords of the articles they moved for ordering me to publish my sermons, & would not desist till they layed it upon the commissionar to press me to it, which he hath often done, and I fear I must yeeld & will be necessitated (by some circumstanees which wer yow heer yow would say doe conclude me) to prefix a dedication to the commissionar: he has hitherto caryed with much discretion & moderation which hath

gained him repute. Mr. Douglas preached upon the 2d of the Chron: 19. c. 6 & 7 v. The parliament have ordered the taking the oath of alleageance, which hath an expression conclud in it amounting to the oath of supremacy ; Cassils is the sole dissenter.[a] They have appoynted a committee called the Lords of the articles, by whom all publick business are prepared for the parliament; they have rescindit all acts since the year 1640 encroaching upon the kings prerogative, & have by act of parliament wthout one dissenting givin the king a negative woyse, which befor they say was never given to any king in Scotland. They have voted the sole power of nominating officers of state and lords of the session to be in the king. Yow shall have a larger account the next week. The commissionar professeth he hath no purpose to medle with the church.

Because my Lord Lauderdaill is much taken up, & it is not fit for me to trouble his Lop. with letters from me addressed immediately to himself, I shall putt yow to the trouble to offer from me this presentation for Mr. Baily,[b] whom his Lop knowes to be an honest man, and yt upon his lops motion the king was pleised to pass his word yt Mr. Baily should have the place;[c] I am informed yt it is designed heer, yt that place shall be conferred upon another, which would be injurious to Mr. Baily & brake his heart ; his relyance is upon my Lord Lauderdaills favour in it ; yow will not doe an unworthy act to be at the paines of putting my Lord in mind till it be passed ; and I hope yow will pardon I putt yow upon this imployment which tends to the good of your countrey & doing right to a very honest man. I must brake of and tell you I am unchangeably Your ever obliged to serve yow,

JA: SHARP.

Edinburgh, 12 Jany, 1661.

For his esteemed friend Mr. Patrick Drummond, at Mr. Thomas Viner, his shop in Lombard Street, London.

[a] See his letters in *Camden Miscellany* for 1883.

[b] Robert Baillie.

[c] Principal of Glasgow University.

XXXI.—Sir Alexander Primrose to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23115, f. 31.]

My Lord, Edr, 19 Jany, 1661.

By my last I sent to your Gr [a] the extract of the Act qr by the right of chooseing the officers of Estat belong to his Mtie, & I hope your Gr hes remembred my gift. And if perchance it sould be out of the way, I have sent another copie of it in my Lord Comissrs pacqũet, which is to goe with ane expresse to morrow. This weeke the parliament hath past tuo great acts: [b] one concerning the Kings absolut power of the Militia of peace & warre, and of treatties & Leagues.[c] The other asserting the Royall power, as to any meitings & conventions of the people & leagues, & bands. The copies of both gois with the expresse to your Gr: Cassills refuising to give the Oath of Alledgance will probablie forfeit his publict trusts, and I sall offer to your Gr. whither or not it wer fit for his Maties service that the E: of Middleton had his place of Extraordinarie Lord in Session,[d] & that he may be insert in the commission. Never wes yr a Parl. so frank for the King, & nothing can be of so great discouragment to them as to sie any who have beene always against the King, espealie in these unhappie yeeres 1649 & 1650, employd in publict trust. All Remonstrators & such who were accessorie to the causs of gods wrioth [e] are commandit aff the toun. The Parliamt are to goe in hand with the process. There occũreth

[a] The title "your grace" is curious.

[b] These Acts were framed by the writer. Burnet, vol. i. sect. 116.

[c] Aimed especially at the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.

[d] Extraordinary Lords of Session were Lords of Parliament appointed by the Crown to sit and vote in court along with the permanent judges. The office was abolished in the tenth year of George II.

[e] On Sept. 19, 1660, a Proclamation was published against Rutherford's "Lex Rex," and "The Causes of God's Wrath," supposed to be written by James Guthrie.

a difficultie concerning Swinton,[a] to proceed against him upon the sentence 1651, or be a new process. The first is shortest, Bot it would inferre ane acknowledgment of the lawfulnes off yat Parliam^t^, whose call wes frome yat unlawfull meiting 1649. The later is not so readie, besyds yat many now think & avow, that the fighting ag^st^ the King at Worcester is a sinne of the same nature with the fighting against the King at Dunceluw, Langmerston, Philliphauch, &c.

Haveing now tane some view of these few Records y^t^ were preserved in the frigot,[b] there can be fund none of the ancient Records of the Crown, onelie some few Parliam^t^ books of King James the 6, neither any Records since the yeere 1637. There be lost 85 hogsheid, & I feare of more worth yen all that is saiffe. Your Gr. may be pleased to pardon this trouble yow are putt to Be,

My Lo:

Your Grs most humble serveant,

A. Primerose.

XXXII.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23115, f. 47.]

My dear Friend,

Since my last to yow I have been these 10 dayes out of town, the presbytrie of St. Andrews have loosed me from my charge of

[a] Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, pp. 47, 48. His estates had been forfaulted in 1650 on suspicion that he was in Cromwell's confidence and given to Lauderdale, in recompense for the rents of Brunstoun given to Swinton when Lauderdale himself was forfaulted by the English Parliament.

[b] Cromwell carried off the public records of Scotland. At the Restoration they were sent back, but the frigate which carried them was wrecked near Berwick.

the ministrie at craill in order to my embracing of a call to the vacant profession in the new colledge[a] : I see you doe slight that motion I made to yow,[b] which proceedit from my sincere respect to your self, & the good of the people whom I am bound to tender ; I had no other end in it; I had the vanity by my last to tell you of my preaching two sermons befor the parliament, and the pressings of some to publish them & dedicat them to the Commissionar ; *it was a part of my* inducement to goe out of the town, that I might awoyd the heat of that importunity, and now I hope I shall be master of my own resolution, which is never to suffer them to be printed, & Θ therby putt myselfe upon the necessity of such a dedication ; I spoke nothing but what my conscience told (?) me in reference to our late publick actings since 47, which have been unhappy and dishonorable to us, & flowed from those principles & spirit of some who did bear sway in all our judicatures which are inconsistent with any setled governement & most destructive of the true interest of church and state: what I preached was approved by all the judicious who heard me, and Mr. Douglas, Mr. Smith, & Mr. Wood, with other ministers who had an account thereof were satisfied, & have expressed ther satisfaction to me, though I hear some of the Remonstrator way, & that ladye,[c] who wreats some time to my dearest Lord, have spoke what ther own misapprehensions and humour (you know what) lead them to from some expressions which they have perverted ; the empoysoned arrowes of Mrs. Christians malice are more feirely darted against me, then they were against yow. I wreat thus to yow, y^t^ yow may haue some account of the truth, and I think sometime of sending a copye of my sermons to yow, which I am confident yow wold approve ;

[a] Professorship of Divinity at the New College of St. Andrew's.

[b] 23114, f. 90.

[c] Probably Lady Margaret Kennedy, the daughter of Cassilis, and second wife of Burnet. She was the staunchest of Presbyterians. His letters are printed in the Bannatyne Club publications.

because differing reports may be made with yow; and since my preaching, they have sett up some who by ther extravangancies have given offence; yow know our scotist humors & ministers as ready as others to fall into indiscretions; the *countenance of great ones ticklessome, popular aire feeds others;* some are allarumed with the fears they conceive from the late brisk proceedings of the parliament, especially ther rescissory acts,[a] of which yow hear I suppose from other *hands; ministers now* are as great strangers to state transactions as befor they were medlers in them; for me I know what jealousies and eyes are upon me, at the court heer, and therfor think it is fitt for me to carrye unconcernedly; I doe not × inquyr of busines, when I am asked I tell my judgement; once a day I goe to the Abby & officiat at my Lord commissionar his table, which I have done upon his invitation as I wrott to yow formerly; he uses me civilly. By any thing I can yet perceive amongst them, I find no designe to alter our church governement, and though they had it I doe not see how it can be effectual; some discontented, others who have nothing else to doe but to fraim conjectures & spread them, talk & wreat what they fancie: no man nor action escapes the tessing by tongues, I want not my own share of that happiness; whether my preferment to be the only minister who attends the court doeth make me *the subject of peoples* talk & ⊖ the object of envie from others I know not, but I am sure my imployment nor fate are not very pleasing to me; if yow see our diurnals yow will rellish ther strain, because penned by Th: Sydserff.[b]

I know not what censure I incurre from my most noble Lord of Lauderdaill, that he hath not been troubled with my letters since the sitting of this parliament, he hath so full an account from his

[a] Rescinding all Acts since 1633.

[b] "A very rascal, Tom Sincerfe, the Diurnaller, a profane, atheistical Papist as some count him" (Baillie, vol. iii. p. 468. He was the son of the old Bishop of Galloway. He afterwards opened a theatre in the Canongate with a company of comedians, and was the author of a play "Tarugo's Wiles," printed in London 1668, 4to.

freinds heer of all passages as makes it needles for me to adde to his trouble. I am affrayed upon foolish surmises I gave his Lo^p offence by my last, which makes me the more loath to fall into the lyke now ; they have sent up Mungo Murrey[a] who befor this can come your hand will be at Whythall: I pray yow doe not forgett to give me some account of honest Mr. Bailys busines, which yow must sollicit with all importunity till it be done by my Lord ; I will think that some change is upon yow if I doe not hear somewhat from yow speedily.

I am,

Yours to serve you,

JA: SHARP.

Edinburgh, Jan^ry 26, 1660 [1661].

For his honored freind Mr. Patrick Drummond at S^r Thomas Vyner, his shop in London.

XXXIII.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23115, f. 53.]

DEAR SIR, Edinburgh, Ja^ry 31, 1661.

Since my last to yow this last week I have received two from yow this week, and thank yow for your care of Mr. Bailyes busines & the good account yow give of it, which he & I & our honest men heer take as the effect soley of our most noble Lords favour, who knowes how to doe worthily. Sir, I thank yow for the paines you have taken for vindicating me from those effects which the malice, folly, & calumny of persons I never injured intend against me. I see no fence for me but patience under the hand of God,

[a] Brother to Lord Athol.

who sees it fitt to putt me to such an afflicting exercise and contempt of what the ill mindit & factious can doe against me, which the Lord I bless him is pleased in some measure to wouchsafe upon me, & think I could not have that patience & untroublednes if my Θ conscience did accuse me of what malicious folly would fix upon me; I have been formerly represented as if I had engaged whyl I was at London to introduce Episcopacy into this church, & now I am reported to be an apostat covenanter, sure the next will be that I am turned phanatick & enemie to the Kinge. For the first I made a full confession of my guilt of accession to such a designe to yow by my letters 6 weeks agone, what hath occasioned the report of the other I can not divine, in my sermons all I spoke which could give any hint of jealousie as to the matter of the covenant was, that, having mentioned that principle of the Apostle, in what station & place soever providence hath putt a man, be he king or subject, therin he ought most strictly to abyd with God; hence I inferred, yt as the king is not to encroach upon the property & liberty of the subject, so nether the subject upon the prerogative & rights of the crown; the magistrat is not to medle with what is competent to the minister & the minister is to keep within the compass of his sphear; one kingdom is not to concerne itself in the civill or ecclesiastick administrations of another kingdom governed by different lawes & customs without a call from the king and consent of that kingdom. This was all I sayed either directly or by consequence in reference to the Covenant, and I confess to yow it is my judgement, which upon that occasion I could not dissemble, if it will × bear that severe construction yow wreat of, I leave to your consideration: I find ther are people heer, who in this silence of contests betwixt the Remonstrators & us, having nothing else to doe but to exercise themselves in observing & speaking of all persons & actions now upon the stage, take a liberty to pronounce of both, as ther fancie, discontent, fear, favour, dislyk and humour prompt them. My dearest Lord at Whythall is not exempted from

the fidlings of the talemongers, which in my apprehension should as litle trouble his Lop. at this distance as I know they did whyl I was with him. All the prejudice they can doe to his honor & integrity to his master & countrey will be to render him the more deservedly endeared to both, & bring upon themselves the just contempt of ther insignificant folly; he is too wise & generous to be troubled with the buzings of such vasps. The genius of our nation hath delighted in the way of faction, some are hankering after that way still. Experience hath given me the opportunity to know somewhat of men & ther wayes, my imployment leads me to a fair carriage towards men whom I know to be of differing designs & interests, my inclination is against faction, I never loved it, nor shall promote it either in state or Church. My Lord Lauderdaill is the person alyve who has oblidged me most, and to whom I owe & bear most honor & esteem & service nixt to my master the king. I see no security for fixation for the interest of Scotland; but by beeng intirely the Kings, what his parliament hath owned to be the rights of his crown; I think they could doe no less to make amends for former encroachments upon them, & vindication of this poor countrey from the stain which the folly & impiety of the late times have brought upon it. For the governement of our church if any designe the altering of it I am not privy to it, nor doe I think that knowing men will see it to any purpose to endeavour it; humurous, foolish, discontented people may raise a noyse of their fears & jealousies about it, when they dare not vent ther dissatisfaction with other matters. The drift of the most of this parliament is to bring the ministerie under beggary & the extremity of contempt; this is apparent unto me, and will be so to the most ere long. The rescissory acts in reference to the covenant I have not seen, nor had any knowledge of, till they wer passed; they say all is done by them is to dissolve any obligation from the Covenant upon the subjects of Scotland to reform England by arms or any other seditious way; they have discharged also the

receving? of it heirafter, upon certain information of an act laitly passed by the Synod of the best for the League & Covenant which they ordered to be printed & copies therof sent to Ireland, of which some of the state ministers in Ireland had notice, & sent information, I am told in jealousie by the court heer, yow know my meaning therof to some parliament heer: that act when Mr. Douglass & the rest of the ministers heer did see it, was much disapproven by them as unseasonable, imprudent, & unhandsome in some respects I cannot now mention. I shall say it to yow, I presage much evill coming upon this kirk through the folly of some, the naughtines & unfixednes of others: for our part who are heer now in this place Mr. Douglass & I, who keep the same intimacy as formerly (though the clashes yt some people heer would have it beleeved not to be so), have givin a paper in Mr. Douglass words to the Commissionar & Chancellar, the copye wherof I have heerwith sent to yow, that yow may see his prudence & modera°n; what effect it will have I cannot, but I beleeve it will occasion somewhat to be done; this day I have offered it to the commissionar & the chanceller. I opened my heart to yow formerly, if what yow have spoken for me meet with the ill fate of not beeng beleeved, I must bear it; I thank you for your concerning your selve so tenderly in me, & I shall possess my mind in quiet, till the cloud which some endeavour to bring over me wanish; I thank God I fear no persons maligning of me, upon any publick acount; in spyte of malice I shall be found faythfull to the king & my countrey, & to my Lord Lauderdaill. I will *not give two pence what others* say of me; & without vanity I may say yt were I not heer at this time, and did take some pains with ministers & others, it would be worse with the Church then it is: it is resolved yt the parliament will to morrow pass an excellent act against poperie, of which ther is great need, for by information there are above 5000 emissaries of late traficquing in this countrey, yea one knowen *to be a* preist had the boldnes to putt in for a

place about the tolbooth; I am endeavouring that ther be an act passed also against profanity, & for owning of the doctrin & disciplin of this church, for which some promises are givin to us. Next week I am going to St. Andrews to be admitted divinity professor there; you may know, but I myself doe much more, how unworthy & unfitt, but I cannot avoyd it: possibly I may from the University have occasion to wait upon my Lord this summer; Θ let fools play their game, they will bring furth the wind. Tho: Sydserff is our diurnall wreater;[a] the Commissionar hath disclaimed the authorizing of him, and hath promised to me, after complaint to silence him. Yow know how much we are to build upou English men, ther talking now of billie scott, and how it concerns us to be independent. Remember me to my assured & much valued honest Mr. Tayler, to Mr. Calamy, Manton, & Daits? Know yt I am yours,

JA: SHARP.

XXXIV.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23115, f. 59.]

Edinburgh, Feb. 7, 61.

I sent yow by the last a paper Mr. Douglass & I gave to some leading Statesmen for satisfying the good people. We have had no account of it as yet, let me know what use yow made of it; I know yow have shewn it to my Lord, it is all we can doe.

MY DEAR & WORTHY FRIEND—

Yours of Jan^{y} 25 I receaved by the other poast; my former two letters to yow, the one of the last week, the other of the preceding mention the recept of youre two, so that I am not when yow

[a] See note to preceding letter. The journal was called the "Mercurius Caledonius."

have receaved this behind with yow: & I intend once a week to give yow the trouble of mine. By the last poast I sent a returne to that I had from my Dearest Lord, & have sent away his to Mr. Baily, who has reason to be sensible of your care, whatever he oues to my Lords favour, by which now he is instated in the best Θ place of Scotland competent to a schollar. By my former I wrot upon information more smoothingly of the late rescissory act in reference to the covenant then now I can doe, having yesterday seen the act which to my apprehension doeth not only nullifye the civill sanction of the former & late covenants, but doeth make woyd any security we had by Law for our religious gouvernements; which how greivous it is to honest men heer, & of what dangerous consequence yow may judge.Θ We were promised & expected moderation, but what shall *be expected, when such acts pass;* our Scots humor is ever upon extrems, and if the church governement did depend upon the vote of this parliament it would undoubtedly be overturned; but I trust the leading men of the ministrie will stand fixed; and some men will not attain ther ends; they are to pass an act tomorrow for annulling the authority & all the acts of the parliament 49; the augmenta°ns granted by that parliament were the other day in the meeting of the articles voted doun, but the commissionar by his negative interposed, & so far the time the ministers may scape that blow, but generally all joyn in bringing contempt upon the ministry. The M. of Argyl is to be arraigned upon moonday nixt, the most able advocats cannot be induced to plead for him,[a] concluding him a gone man; for a generall Assembly we are at a stand, we know not what to wish about it, or the tyming of it: till the acts be passed Mr. Douglass, I, or any minister are as great strangers as yow; I now begin to forsee a tryall coming upon Θ this church, the Lord fitt us for it. They say they have discharged

[a] Sir J. Nisbit refused; Robert Sinclair, John Cunninghame, and George M'Kenzie were appointed by Parliament to defend him. Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

Th: Sydserff. It is intollerable that a papist should bespatter the ministry of our Church: M. Guthree, M. Gillespy are sent for in order to ther tryall; Gillespy is thought will escape, though his actings have been more criminous then M. Guthree, & shall he poor man be made the only sacrifice? I can not find those two books yow mention heer, it wer uncivill to put yow to the trouble of sending of them: remember me to my much valued Mr. Taylor, to Mr. Calamy, M. Manton, & the rest: yow shall hear when more occurs; have us in your prayers—I rest ×

Yours, JA: SHARP.

I have not yet seene the papers yow sent to my Lo: Crafurd.

For his honored freind Mr. Patrick Drummond at St. Thomas Vyner, his shop in London.

XXXV.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23115, f. 69.]

DEAR SIR, Edinburgh, 14 Feb. 1661.

This is the 4th since I had one from yow, signifying your receeving of mine; my last was the last weeks, by which I promised to wreat to yow once every week during my stay in this place: some acts have passed of late which we lookt not for; your diurnalls takes notice of one with an elogium, now yow see our statsmen will have the world know we are not a preistridden nation; we ministers must bear what we can not mend, we know nothing of ther making of acts, & when they are made we ought to putt the best construction upon them, and let nothing drop from us which may cast an odium upon publick proceedings; this principle all our sober men resolve to walk by: the account of the acts rescinding the parliament 49, & of the declara°n against the delivery of the king yow may have from others: our parliament having now settled the matters of *the King*, *I know not* what they will doe for the × Θ Θ

interest of the countrey: for religion we expect litle since all former sanctions are loused, we have no hold but what the king's letter does give us, if they will pass an confirmation according to the termes × of that letter, we shall take that till we have more, I have an act ⊖ to this purpose to offer to them to morrow: Statismen? have been thought to regard the interest of the Church in subserviancy to ther own; we find it so now; some talk of constant moderators, some of a meeting of such ministers as the king shall nominat preyvious to a generall assembly; modells are in hammering as the designs of men doe project, but beleeve it our leading honest men are fixed in ther way: fear God, honor the king, & medle not with those who are givin to change, is the rule of ther purpose: whoever mind our disturbance by a change, may find themselves disappoynted. Yow may hear stories from hier, but *doe not trust all* ⊖ *is sayd.* Many wish our parliament were closed, the long sitting heer will not be for the good of the countrey. Argyl made his first appearance yesterday, he is not to appear again befor Tuesday come 7 night: poor Mr. Ja: Guthree is to appear upon tuesday nixt, and, though less criminous then others, is lyke to be the only sacrifice of those of our coat: we are told of Mr. Mantons receiving ordination [a] from a Bishop & of Mr. Calamys preaching in the time of lent before the King:[b] many things could I wreat which I cannot doe in this way: what now I have done is raptim from

Yours, JA. SHARP.

For Mr. Patrick Drummond at S^r^ Thomas Vyner his lodging.

XXXVI.—JAMES SHARP TO PATRICK DRUMMOND.

[23115, f. 76.]

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 14^th^ is just now come to hand, this is the 5^th^ I have

[a] Not true.

[b] They had been made Royal Chaplains.

sent to yow since I receaved the returne of any from yow. S[r] Ja. Hamiltoun is not come to town, nether have I heard of him or any thing he brought along with him. Yow putt the fairest construction upon the rescissory act, I wish we have not more of them, for heer we goe on in a carreerr, some think of taking away any hold we have for religion since 37; yesternight they have ordered all the acts of Assemblies & commissions of the church since that time to be delivered to the Register and Advocat for ther perusall; I have sent yow a copye of an act some of us have drawn heer, and offered to our grandees to be past in parliament, but I see no cause to hope it shall be past. I tell yow my apprehension that endeavours will be usit (& I know upon what account) to bring innowations upon us, but I am confident they will not take effect; honest men are resolved to stick together, and what then can they doe? it is wreatin from London y[t] Mr. Manton hath receaved ordina[o]n de novo from his Bishop, yt Mr. Calamy is to preach in the mode at Whythall in time of Lent: the Parliament is heer dryving off time, till M. Murrey returne, I cannot wreat what I would say to yow, or my dearest Lord; but yow may conjecture what a life I have by the knowledge yow had of my way: this houre I am hastning to the tyd going for St. Andrews, where they will have me to be admitted to the profession in the new colledge upon thursday nixt; I shall returne again this day 7 night; I thought you had takin the pelt at somewhat, not having heard from yow: they are now upon thoughts of sending up some to the king to begg pardon for the rebellion since 37, and to appoynt a fast heer for a solemne acknowledgement therof. Yow may conjecture how becoming a work this will be, & honorable in the eyes of our neighbors: Dear freind angor animo, I am straitned, which makes me wreat in this confusion: Grace be with yow. Yours, Ja: Sharp.

Edinburgh, 19 Febr. 1661.

I know my Lady Balcarras hath just cause of displeasure, yt I doe not wreat to her La/ but I forbear till I see if I can have any matter

For his honord Mr. Patrick Drummond at London.

XXXVII.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23115, f. 92.]

Dear S^r^,

I have been these 8 dayes past in Fife; whyl I was in St. Andrews, my admission to that charge in the new colledge was performed after the usuall maner, upon my returne to this place I find two from yow, one of the 15^th^ the other of the 8^th^ sent by S^r^ Ja: Hamiltoun who is now heer. I thank yow for your good wishes towards my translation, of which I should never admitted if I had givin way to my own inclination and consciousnes of my great disproportionatnes to such an employment, which requires a larger measure of the qualafications yow mention then I can attain; but importunity of some and the necessity of awoyding a greater inconvenience putt me upon yeelding myself to be disposed of by the Lord's pleasure manifested in these concurring providences for my invitation to & embracing of that place; yow may conjecture the poverty of our universities when such an one as I am called to the charge; it had been very refreshing to me, and of greatest advantage to the people amongst whom I have laboured these 13 years if yow could have been induced to imploy your talent amongst them, of which I may say this poor church had never more need; but, though you putt an better construction upon my proffer then it deserves, yet I hope yow will impute my pressing yow to an inconvenience, to my respect to my country, & to my self; yow are not capable of beeng obliged by me, but give me leave to have my own sense of what I oue. As to the proceedings heer what shall I wreat? ther is an act printed homologating the proclamation of Ireland, which when yow see in our newes book I beleeve yow will say we have reason to be more startled at then anything yet past; I see no ground of hope now of any additionall explanatory act; the last week when I was in Fife amongst the Lords of the Articles they started a motion for re-

scinding all the acts of parliament against episcopacy & for presbytrie; at my returne upon the hearing of it I was amazed, & inquyring how it came to be motioned, the account I had was this; that at first it moved by way of ralliery with Crafurd, but after they came to earnest, and, though they vaved the determing of it for the time, yet by vote of all the Committee saif 4 it was marked to be takin into considera°n befor the rysing of this parliament; what matter of fear & greif this surprysall hath caused to ministers & people yow may judge; Mr. Douglass & Dickson went to the R. Commissionar and Chancellor, desired a conference with them, after my coming over from Fyfe; and now since they have appoynted Moonday next; Mrs. Douglass, Dickson, Baily, Smith, Hutcheson, & I are called to be present; we know not yet who besyds the Commissionar & Chancellor will meet; if those acts be rescindit, what confusion will be upon us? Bishop Sydser[a] may come & demand his place in Parliament: we are dealing that they may forbear to press M. A. Ker for exhibiting our church registers, the designe of it beeng to see the sederunts in which passed some offensive declarations & acts; y^{t} so they *may have matter of challenge upon* occasion against some of our men: Frater, since the returne of the gentleman by whom yours came to me, I see we are influenced strongly from above, the resolution takin for gratifying of some there to endeavour a change in our church; I have my fears y^{t} the foundation upon which we now stand is not strong enough to hold against this assault, which will tend to the persecution & suffering of many honest ministers; we think a speedie calling of the generall Assembly were the only salvo, but I doubt much of the granting of that liberty: the Lord having now takin me off the charge of the ministry, I am thinking I should not concerne myself more in the affairs of the church, and to medle only with my charge in the university, & attendance at pñt upon that which my imployment

[a] Of Galloway, removed to Orkney at this time.

from the King putts upon me, & even from this sometimes I am × thinking to withdraw, if Mr. Douglass would give me leave so to doe; I see I can doe litle good, the attendance I have exposes me to the censures & talk of people according to ther differing humours and interests, which are afflictive often to me: I bliss the Lord I have *peace in my* conscience of serving the publick good of the church whyl I had opportunities; now were yow heer & did know what I see & fear, yow would not think it fitt for me to interest myself more in those matters, wherin I can expect no better issue then to be tessed by peoples tongues, & bear the blaim of the miscarriages of others, *how innocent soever* I may be; I confess to yow I am under this dubious perplexity; if the lord interpose ⊖ not in a way we know not of, I see not how we can escape trouble; however, I still beleeve it will be found a very difficult task when it is putt to the tryall to bring innowations amongyst us. Some talk of constant moderators, others of constant commissionars of the generall assembly, but every day we are allarumed, I wish it may turne to nothing. Mr. Ja: Guthree in his appeerance befor the parliament verifyed the common opinion of his stifnes, owned all the poynts of his lybell, & layed the stress of his defence upon this; y^{t} he had professed nor acted nothing but what was conforme to the doctrin & practise of the Church of Scotland; if this be the plea of these men we may see the tendency of ther way; & were it not y^{t} he *is to answear upon his life* we would find ourselves concerned to vindicat our doctrin & practise from that aspersion, which if vane deserves extermination both for the tenets & owners of it: I was bold to wreat to my Lord Lauderdaill on his behalf, out of charity & compassion, & from information of his sense of his errors & gross deviations, but now, he having evidenced such pertinatiousnes, I shall satisfie myself y^{t} I have usit the mean competent to me without farther insisting to save his lyfe, which is apparantly in danger if the Kings mercey doe not interpose. M. Gillespy is to appear also, but resolves to carrye with more moderation, & having

many freinds will probably escape.[a] The inclost is *from Mr. Baily in expression of his sense of your deservings* from him: what I wreat × *to yow I hope yow* will communicat it to none heer, yow have your liberty to use with my Lord Lauderdaill as you have opportunity; if your master be my dearest Lord, as I am apt to beleeve by *what yow* wreat, I congratulat your happines, & hope he shall be kept at the helme, & steer an good course, whatever blasts he may meet × with, he is to wise not to discerne fidling machina°ns, & too honest to secede from what he oues to his King & countrey: what yow insinuat by my beeng free from any southern inauspitious planet I doe not certainly know, but I hope however my actions may be construed there, to approve myself to my Lord, & give yow assurance that I am

Yours, J: Sharp.

The poast hastens which is my usuall Lembb & excuse. 2 March, 1661. Remember me to our friends in the citty & sey . . . not to give me some significa°n of matters with *yow*.

For Mr. Patrick Drummond, &c.

XXXVIII.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23115, f. 96.]

Dear Sir,

Since my last to yow I receaved two of yours by the tuesdayes poast & one by the thursdayes: I must crave your pardon y^{t} I give yow the trouble of such attandance at Whythall & so frequent wreating to me; who could I pitch upon of such fidelity & integrity to his countrey, of such bowels towardes this poor languishing church, of such trust with our noble Lord, besyds many other con-

[a] He was deposed from the ministry, and confined to Ormiston and six miles round. Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 20.

sidera°ns designing yow to be the only person with whom I can use the freedom & secrecy of such communications; and y^r^for we must request for your indulgence, when both choyce & necessity putts us upon the continuance of your trouble, which giveth ease to our minds, who can doe litle else but poure out our complaints to one who I am γνησιως *curat res nostras.* I read all yours to Mr. Douglass, & dare not trust the secrecy of them to any other, what I wreat to yow he also is only privy to; I hope yow will be carefull that nothing hereof drop from your pen to any heer; I forbear to trouble your master with anything in these matters from my hand & the other person yow mention, fearing to give occasion to any inconvenience upon the account of these matters which I fear can be litle mendit; yow know the ticklishnes of this, & with what caution, that act yow have caused to be wreatin fair, or the overtures are to be medled with. I suspect the eyes of some are intent upon observation of any tendency that way, ther is need of warines; your master is reserved for our *help at the* great stress, which I am shreudlie apprehensive is coming upon us. I see no lissning to our parl^t^; I am confident were it putt the vote within ten dayes presbytrie would doun & episcopacy *sett up: all I see can be done is* to keep matters from the evill in extreme; the contryvance is layed by those above with ther confidents heer, to overturne all our setlement heer: this putts me to the complaints & wishes yow express in yours of Feb. 25. I have no hope of the passing of that act, & we stand at ther mercy of not rescinding all the remaining acts for our church governement. I think it will be fit yow send me both the Oedipus & Sphinx; the first letter of the persons beeng sen will doe it, or some such thing as yow please: yow can doe it with observa°n & obscurity. then I: hath M. M. entered by so foul a posterne gate? the person I wrot of may be a good man, but his failings have been gest, & he charges them all upon the doctrin & practise of the Church of Scotland & sure in this we are litle beholden to him. Argyl this day to the Lords

of the articles gave in a paper of submission, & casting himself upon the kings clemency & mercy: Gillespy is thought will come off upon his acknowledgement, & some say his ingadgement to play the Bishop: S^r^ John Cheisly[a] at his appearance made a pitifull speech reflecting upon his associats & disclaiming the Remonstrance as seditious and treasonable. Our state preachers still declaim, but not according to the strain of your texts: I lookt upon Dr. Sheldon as a judicious person, his text of pacifica^o^n is fitted to ther purpose; they are going on with ther work we hear; pray yow by the first send me these two peces of Arnisaus[b] [?] & place them upon my account with your stationar till I send for more; your letters are very refreshing; pray yow spare not the trouble of wreating to him who is wholly yours: let me still know how it is with my dearest Lord, Yours, J. S.

Edinburgh, March 5, [1661.]

I am sorrie for Mr. Cal:[c] by whose appoyntment were the lent preachers. Does M. C. own superiors,[d] how comes M. Bax[e] to scape preaching & what does his stay mean at London. I cannot wreat what is upon my heart: our scabiose knight sayed God made all well.

XXXIX.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23115, f. 105.]

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, March 12, 1661.

I had none from yow this week; befor this come to your hand I beleeve yow have notice of the earand of the express sent from this,

[a] Secretary to Alexander Henderson, and clerk to the Commissioners who went to Charles I at the Isle of Wight. He afterwards betrayed the design. He was clerk to the Committee of both Kingdoms.—Mackenzie, p. 49, and letter LXX.

[b] Arnisaus (Henning) a German writer on politics and philosophy. His latest works are dated 1651.—Adeling's *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon.*

[c] Calamy refused a Bishopric. [d] *i. e.*, Anglican Bishops.

[e] Orme (*Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 263) says that Baxter preached once.

upon this day was 7 night; it is generally rumoured heer y^{t} upon
Θ his returne the parliament will rescind all standing acts for presbyterian governement, yow may conjecture the consequents & tendency of this rescission, and what fears & jealousies are from this apprehension raised amongst us; yea I suspect a resolution to *take away all acts* of parliament since 1638, and if so, where shall we be? ministers are warping, the designe *is layed* by those with yow;
× for my part I give over medling, your masters not wreating to this place is strangely construed; we are heer so eyed & exposed to . . . . that we dare not wreat to him, in a busines so ticklish; but for anything I see actum est our newsmonger holds on in his wonted strain, often we have complained of him, and now we give over; P. G.[a] yow will perceive is much honored by his testimony: they
× resolve to proceed speadily in the process of Argyll; our parliament lingereth we know not how long: if my dearest Lord be well I am satisfied; yow have givin yourselve the trouble of satisfying my expectation of some account from yow how matters goe there; they say heer episcopacy will setle with yow without any considerable contradiction or dissatisfaction, though some keep fasts for M.
Θ Manton's apostacy. I am confident were it putt to the vote of our parliament in a weeks time they would pass it for bishops; God help us, & hold yow in his keeping; pray yow send me a parcell of the new peeces with yow by the first ship, & let me know how the money shall be peyed to whom you shall mominat: vale. Yours,

J.S.

For his honored Mr. Patrick Drummond, London.

[*Mem^{o} by William Sharp on cover*].

I beseech John Don to deliver the inclosed & to excuse that by him I wreat not, being in haist. W. S.

[a] Patrick Gillespie.

XL.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23115, f. 111.]

Sir, Edinburgh, 19 March, [1661].

Your *mercurius cholericus* of March 9 I have receaved, that *to M. Baily* shall be sent to Glasgow by the next poast, I am hartily sorrye for honest M. Taylor his hard usage: that M. Baxter who declared *to the King* he was no presbyterian, & I am sure is no sectary, should meet with no more favour is strange: I know not why M. Seaman[a] is dislisted, but I knew certainly he was nogreat freind to the king. *I concurre with* yow in that stanza of the Letany, & have more need of beeng delivered from all uncharitablenes then yow: I apprehend your converse with your citty freinds may not be very pleasing when the entertainment of it is rayling upon our countreymen: that occurres to me, else nos simus digni hac contumelia, indigni tamen illi qui faciant, for Scotland hath better reason to crye out upon the English perfidiousness, precipitancy & inconstancy; it was never well with us since we had medling with them who know but too well how to abuse and despise us. I agree with Mr. Hutchesons opinion expressed in his late sermon before the parliament, that now no sober man does conceive himself *bound in conscience by any obligation* from the covenant to medle or impose upon England: I wish we had such quarter from them; Crofton you know to be of a bickering temper, but I wish he had consolted the interest of his cause & the reputation of Scotland better, then to have layed so much weight upon that infamous declaration pressed upon the King at Dumferlin;[b] if others who have not takin the Covenant conceive themselves bound to wreat in defence of it, I shall not inquyr into ther inducements; but I think the act of parliament *in Scotland gives* the rule to the subjects heer, how in ther station they are to demean themselves as

[a] Lazarus Seaman, Master of Peterhouse [?]. [b] 1650.

to civill confederacies ; what have I done why such a buzing should be raised about yow concerning my carriage ; befor my coming from London I professed my judgement & endeavours for setling the Kings interest & authority in our church, this I have evry where owned since my coming home, at my first appearing in our Provinciall of Fife I had occasion to speak of that duty incumbent to us in poynt of conscience, security & reputa°n, the effect of it did appear by that letter yow caused print; since that time as I had opportunity I have been pleading with those in authority heer for tendernes towards our church & particularly towards the Remonstrator ministers, I have gott 6 of them scraped out of the roll after they were ordered to be cited before the parliament, I have done all the good offices I could to other ministers of an opposit way to them ; I have watched for opportunities of free discourse for all the honest ministers who *are of this*
i × *town, & who have come to it*, with the Chanceller, Commisionar, Thesaurer, the president, & have argued & pleadit with them for satisfaction to our desires; I have from time to time given yow notice of what I could observe of the current of affairs heir, of my
× hopes & fears, knowing yow would give an account therof to whom it was fitt; I wrot to yow by Mr. Douglas's adwice, I acquainted him with evry letter & paper I sent to yow, & whatever returne I
× receaved from yow : *& shall this* be my measure that the imputation of all misscarriages shall lye at my dore, as if I did design or contribute to them, or it were in my pouer to remead them? were yow wher I am, yow would have another sense of matters, & be convinced of my hard usage; I did appear for the Church of Scotland against Shismaticall seditions & phanatick wayes, I retain & hope ever shall the same spirit still, I never did nor can justify the exorbitancies into which our contests with our princes & magistrats have betrayed us to our great guilt and reproach; I will not enslave my judgement in church matters to the dictats of persons & parties, nor serve the interests of any to the prejudice of the authority of

the king, the peace of the church & the just reputation of its ministers: my attendance in the Abbey (which is only once a day when the Commissionar comes to table publickly) may render me unhappily obnoxious to the cruell persecutions of the tongue, and what wonder, amongst a people givin to jealousies surmisings, when they have been & are under so *many amusings* & allarums from publick acting, but if my conscience condemne me not by beeng knowingly accessory to an evill way, I hope to have confidence towards God whatever measure I may meet with from men: who they are who have suspicion of me with yow & upon what ground I know not; if nothing will satisfye but a testimony from Mr. Douglass & another, they may by a letter give them occasion to it, I mind not to hurle upon those unbecoming aucupia (?): I am sure thrice a week at least Mr. Douglass is with me or I with him, the rest of the ministers of Edinburgh converse as befor, my greatest intimacy hath been aluayes with him & as much now as ever; sure if he did distrust me he would not use me as he does; there is nothing of publick matters I can learne which I doe not impart to him; the conference I wrot to yow of is not yet holden, they promise us evry other day it shall be, but still it is putt off; Mr. Douglass & I the last week had a large time in privat with the Commissionar in reference to our church matters; we besought the parl^{t} might not enter upon the rescinding of those acts, & that we might have a generall Assembly and that the commission books of the Church might not be called for; to the last he sayed he would give us satisfaction; as to the other two he sayed he would give his answeur when he received his returne from England.

Our desires came at last to this; that our church governement might be kept without violation till a tryall & experiment of our way for 2 or 3 years might be taken: if Mr. Douglass doe not wreat (as I find him shy in it) I cannot help it, for within this month I have moved it to him 3 or 4 times; I can call God to witnes I know no more of that motion for rescinding those acts

then yow did, since that time they having felt the pulse of the parliament, and since M. Murreys returne I find them resolut to prosecut *ther purpose*, *which till of late I knew nor* did beleeve, it beeng befor professed to me, & Mr. Douglass, y^{t} they had no instruction to medle with the church; for all my court at the abbey I am not made privy to ther motions till they come above board, & keep that way, I doe not putt questions to them, nor speak but when I am asked; when I show my dislyk & fear of the consequences, if I succeed not & they take ther own way, shall the blaim be layed upon me? It is observed the more ministers testify ther dislyk & express ther fears they are the more stirred to prosecute ther way, & shall it be my sole lott to be buffeted. My condition is somewhat differing from yours, I was a churchman ingaged some way in publick affairs, I had my share of toyl, sufferings, & dangers, I have not been altogether useles to my king, countrey men, and countrey, I had no designes but the service of others more then myself; I thank God disturbing hopes or fears doe not discompose me, nor is my judgement perverted by affection or interest; I doe chayn my affection & desire to that stream of providence which may make it to be well with the King & your *master* my Lord; I am no phanatick nor a lover of ther way under whatsoever refyned form, yet of late I have received a differing light of the King's judgement as to our church then I found when I parted from Whythall; this may be a ridle to yow, *but to open now in this* way, I can not; I tell yow it is, & hath struck me with amasement; our evill is from those with yow, I cannot exempt some among ourselves, of whom I am not one. The only wise God knoweth what the issue shall be, but for anything yet appearing to me, I cannot see how this current will be stemmed, and this church kept upon the bottom it stands. Although yow lyke not my desire to retire now, yet pardon me to differ from yow in my resolution not to medle anymore in these thorny & bespattering entanglements; if men will not regard my credit & peace, I must look to myself, the

severity of a censure of a crackt credit & prostituted conscience, I doe not fear from men of credit or conscience, I have not stept awry, my uprightnes will ansuear for me, when this dust of jealousies, disappoyntments, fidlings & clamourings are over; I have read it in Tertullians life, y^t^ when the preists of Rome had causelesly cryed him up for a montanist, & accordingly dealt with him; quo protinus offensus prorsus in montani partes transivit. I hope it shall not be my case, but sure my provocation is great: my melancholy thoughts often reflect upon that in the german storye, abi in cellam et dic miserere domine: since the Lord by his good providence hath takin me off from the exercise of the ministry, & called me to a station which doeth not give me a direct interest in church contests, if I keep to my poast, equall observers ought not to say it is upon design & when yow better think of it yow will not conclude upon my holding to that duty, y^t^ all men are lyars, since I never engaged to yow nor to any else to medle without my sphear; and it is unreasonable to suppose me so foolish or overweening of my wit, or interest with the grandees heer, as to think of giving them the rule, & prevailing with them in that which they look upon as cross to ther designe & undertaking, & for any thing I can perceive, they take ther interest to be most concerned in: God help *us when we see, y^t^ the concernements of the gospell* of the church & ministrie must be hurled at the heels of the interests of men designing nothing but greatnes & taking advantage from the divisions unstablenes insignificancy of ministers: for my part if after long *converse with men, of which it is time* to be wearied, I can not have leave to retire amongst my books, & bewaile the evills which the folly & self seeking of men are bringing upon my countrey, I must think de mutando solo, & breathing in an aire where I may be without the reach of the noyse & presoures of the confusions coming, which I had rather hear of then be witness to, & for the preyventing of which I have not been wanting in the using of those meanes which, to the best of my understanding, seemed pro-

bable; I have by yow givin my dearest Lord, the true representa^{o}n of passages heer as I found them, I have used much freedom with our grandees heer, but they are not those men who are influenced by ministers, or will be hindered or furthered in ther purposes by
× what ministers offer to them; what can be expected from me? if I suffer from what they have done or will doe I must bear it with the less concernednes, that it is innocently, & if for all this I have from a sadned spirit wreat to yow at this lenth suspicions & jealousies shall be entertained of me I have no fence but patience: what ever yow think of me I shall preserve an secret esteem & affection for yow. J. S.

Morgan[a] came the last week doun & causit the service book to be usit in the cittadell, it is sayed hee commands in cheef & the English forces must remain upon us till we conforme to your Southerne mode: if this be an invention to facilitat designes I know not: O poor Scotland.

Sir, Edinb. 21 March.

After I had sent this to the poast house, it came so late y^{t} it was returned to me, & therfor I shall give yow this addition of my judgement as to the governement of this church: though I doe
i think y^{t} the substantialls of presbyterian governement have a founda^{o}n in scripture, yet I am not of ther opinion, who will have the integrant parts of the constitution & way of it, as it hath been exercised in Scotland these years past to be jure divino, or consistent with that subjection which by the rules of the word is due to the King, much less which the Law of the Land hath made the rights of the crown; it is all one to me to live under a regulated presbytrie, or under a presbyterian presidency, I thought the commissions of our G. assemblies in the 47, 48, & since have acted as exorbitantly as the highest *prelats; mullum habeo argumentum theologicum against*
2 a constant well qualified presidency, but the offence it will give
× heer with other bad consequences barr me from having accession to

[a] Major-General; left in command by Monk.

the bringing of it in: Sir, for what I can observe from the differences betuixt us & the Remonstrators which ther leaders doe adhere to, upon the account of conscience in conformity as they say to the principles of presbyterian governement; from the differences in judgement amongst those who oppose them, which I perceive will every day encrease, from the temper of the most of the nobility, gentry, & burrowes of the kingdom, from the irresolution & damp which is upon the spirits of the most of the ministrie in Scotland, from the just prejudices which *former actings have cast upon the* × way of the church, from the visible contempt upon all ministers, & the folly & ficklenes of too many; from all these considerations, & more which I cannot mention to yow by wreating, I make this inference (I wish I be mistaken), y^t^ we can not hold upon this foundation; but must ere long be subjected either to erastianism of *the worst form, or we must fall upon constant commissionars, moderators, or Bishops; but if a change* come, I make no question it will be greivous, & bring on suffering upon many honest men, in which I would be very loath to have any hand. Thus yow have a plain confession of my opinion of these matters, which I can say I have not uttered to any person alyve, & I shall adde yt my apprehensions of these things had a swaying influence upon me to embrace that place of the New Colledge, where I may with less offence to myself or others wait upon the Lord's pleasure towards us: and yet I declare to yow I have not acted directly or indirectly for a change amongst us, nor have I touched upon Church Governement in sermons or conferences at our court or elswhere; I can not justify our overreachings, nor doe I use to declaim against the Governement of our neighbour churches; I would give to them the same measure we ought to expect from them. Whether this gives occasion to people to raise suspicions & surmisings of me, & to others who would have a change to take liberty to say or wreat, I am what they *would have me to be, I* know *not; but* no person heer or with yow can say without injuring of me that ever I spoke or cooperated for intro-

ducing a change, yea had my way which I proposed 3 month agone to ministers heer been followed we *had not bcen brought* to this push.

The ministers of Edinburgh & the most in Fife I beleeve are fixed, it is my fear from what I hear yt ministers elswhere will waver: those in the west are so deeply engaged in the Remonstrator way & therby rendered obnoxious to the lash that ther opposition can signify litle: this beeng our condition what can my pith doe?

My judgement in reference to past & present civill transactions I publickly declared in my sermons, which I cannot have opportunity to transmitt to yow; for our church matters all I have spoke to any can amount to no more in the construction of the severest *animadvertors* then that the King's authority be owned *in ecclesiasticis*, to which I find a generall prepension amongst the best of our ministers; for without this the state cannot be secured from tumultuatings, nor the Church from shisms & partyes, nor the ministry from extrem contempt, nor religion kept in any awe or regard; by what I could discerne of the tendency of affairs when I was in England, & since my returne, besyds the conviction of my judgement as to the interest of the magistrat in the church, *I look* × *upon it* as the only reserve which in prudence we could have our recourse to, for our securing from intendit violences, & redeeming our reputation, & had we a G. Assembly I am confident the King by our own consent would obtain more from us then ever King James sought; if this cannot be granted, if the King should be pleased *to call for some ministers heer* to speak with his Maj. ther × might be some good issue expected, prowyding they keep off for a time ther rescissions: Mr. Douglass, Mr. Wood, & I are to speak with the Commissionar to morrow or the next day; my Lord your master may think it strange I doe not wreat to *his Lo^p^. but I hope* he will not mistake it, my forbearing is from the considera^o^n of his place & station, & the eyes which are upon him. I hope yow will doe me the right to let this be known.

For Mr. Patrick Drummond in London.

XLI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23115, f. 116].

My deir Lord, Marche 21 [1661] at Ed.

Tho I be nou to fall upon the giving you an acount of the treou isteat of busines and of that particular conserning the surthe gufiermunt, uhich is both of great consernment to king, kindom, and evrie indeviduall person, yet I shall prefas nothing to it, being confideant you uill belive uhat I say is from sertin cnoulidg and uithout the least imaginabell reseruidnes, and I should have dun it sunir had I ever till nou bein so clir uhat hes been desaynid, and what uill be the event, it hes bin the positiff resolusions of the great ons, uher you ar, yea of the greatist if posibill not onlie to put a stop to the ridgit uay of presbetrie in this kindom, bot to prepar the apetit of the pipill for returning to the anshint surthe gufirment uhich uas befor this misirabell trubels, and uhen I have considrid and louckt over the kindom, I fayned the inclinasions of four for on to have ther tendinsie that uay as did apir amongist the lords of the articils on day when I uas axedentalie absent the redgistir amonst other axe red that uhich givis the sivill sanxion to the gufirment of the surthe nou istiblishid uhich imediatlie was snapt at uithout a uot bot four to the contrarie resolvid it should be teachin to the considerasion of the parlament befor it reas, uhich uill clirlie carie. Nou my deirest Lord, I most to you and you onlie inienuslie profes that I am for the teacking auay the sivill sanxion from that act that uie may leat our surthemen sie that they have a king relesid from thos fetirs hie uas formirlie tayd uith, uhich uill of nesesitie draue from them ther deou acnoulidgmint of him uhich uerie meanie of them ar shortcoming in, and uhen I consider uhen and hou this pour uas teacking from his majestie, and the bad yous mead of it and the sad afectis flouing from it, sum and tu meanie heaving the seam spirit in them nou as then, dus to me hould out the inuinsabill nesesitie of douing it. Nou I most presum to ofir

my frie aduays to you in relasion to your self, sins you faynd the king and the inclinasions of the jeneralitie of the kindom to run on uay that you may not indangir your oun spliting on a rock that it is probabell a nuff may have been desaynedlie by sum throun in your uay. I thinck I ned not be mor particular bot this fridum both in giving an acount of uhat I cnou to be the steat of busines uith my aduays I du declar upon my honor prosids from my desayr that you may teack your misiors right for as I have ever profesid so I shall be redie to sayn uith uhat is most deir to me that nothing can be a greatir satisfaxion to me then to meack it apir to the uholl uorld hou much I am your servant, our jenerall letir and uhat I cnou you uill reseve from other hands uill informe you of the steat of your business before the articills, and particularlie of the advocats cariedg upon my uird the chanslir is selusslie your frind and comisionar ashours me hie uill ackt his peart, bot trulie the parlament if not uaralie notifid uill prufe ill set in the business, but shour I am nothing shall be uanting that is in the pour of your

R.

My nis being dead, and I having urittin to you at lenthe ten days ago in it I shall say no mor.

XLII.—Charles II. to the Earl of Middleton.

[23115, f. 118.]

Middleton, Whitehall, 22 March, 1660[1].

I have given yow a full ansuer to yo^{r} Letter, Yet one thing I must adde, & it shall be to yor self: I am sorie to heare from so many hands That a strange cours is taken there with many of those who were appointed to be cited to the Parliament: Privat barganes I heare are driven, & money receaved from too many who are represented to have been abominable complyers. I shall be glade

that this be not so, for althogh I should have been apt enough to have pardond such as had been offered as the fittest objects of mercie, & althogh I was willing to leave those things very much to the Parliament, Yet I did ever understand that the sole power of pardoning resides in me, and that fines & forfaultures are wholly at my disposall: You shall therfor privately informe yo^{r} self if any such strange way be taken & Let it be stopt: For I am cleirly of opinion That pardoning & punishing is to be caryed above boord, and that no privat bargaines are to be driven to make sale of my grace & mercie. Let me I pray yow have ane account of this.

[Draft of a Letter of Charles II. in the handwriting of Lauderdale].

XLIII.—James Sharp to Patrick Drummond.

[23116, f. 25.]

Sir,[a]

Some weeks agone I sent yow a large returne to your last to me which it seems hath givin yow so litle satisfaction y^{t} it hath occasioned your breaking of your way of trouble to yourselve and kyndnes to me: the occasion of this bearar putteth me upon the renuing of your trouble once more if it be not distastefull; the bearar if yow will upon my account wouchsafe him some of your time & opportunity can give yow such an account of the past & present state of matters here as will save your reading a large narrative from me: for my part I can not look that I should be justifyed altogether upon my own words, as nether ought I to be condemned or prejudiced upon the bare words of open speakers or clandestin whisperers against me: but my iñocensy I hope will

[a] The affectation of injured innocence in this curt 'Sir' is delicious.

answear for me in a time of more composure then this is. I doe appeal to the continued tenor of my actions, which witness for me in the judgement of all impartiall & unbyassed observers, & I can with patience & hope committ myself, my credit, conscience & what else is expresed which doeth concerne, into the hands of my fayth-full creator, who knowes my way, & will bring my integrity to light: for all your retirement now yow may know what it is to bear the last of the tongue, and if yow were in my stead, what measure could yow expect, which yow may be pleased to give, Sir, to

Your affectionat & respected freind,

JA: SHARP.

Edinburgh, *Aprylll* 15, 1661.

For his honoured freind Mr. Patrick Drummond at Whythall.

XLIV.—ROBERT BAILLIE[a] TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23116, f. 30.]

MY L/ Glasgo. Apr. 18 [1661.]

The bearer Robert Cuming I commendit to you befor, he is comissioner from some of my speccall friemdis in this toon. The thesaurer, the Chancheler, General Munk, & your L/ befriendit him befor in a most just action that he had befor the court of admiralitie. I must intreat still your L/ would befriemd him.

I hope befor this you receavit in Mr. Sharp's pakett what I promisit to Mr. Drumond, my letter of thankes giving to your L/ for procuring to me the praesentation you sent me with Mr. Sharp & my humble Intreatie to you to give thankes to his Maj. for it in my name.

But nou, having the occasion of this bearer who promises to me assuritly to deliver to you this in hand or burn it, I tell you that

[a] Baillie and Lauderdale had formerly been on terms of the most intimate friendship. The references to Lauderdale in Baillie's letters are in terms of enthusiastic praise for his piety and devotion to the interests of the Presbyterian Church.

my hert is broken with grief and that the burdeen of the publik I find it weghting & husting me to my grave.[a] My prayers daylie when my hert is lausit ar for the king & you for his blessing on you & him. I have no privat desirs nor fears, but I think we ar very ill guidit & very needlesly. What needit you to that disservic to the king which all of you can not recompenc to grive the herts of all your gratious friemds in Scotland to whom the king was, is, & will be I hope efter God most deir, with pulling doun all our lawes at onc which concernit our church sinc 33. Wes this good advice or will this thrive? Is it wisdome to bring bak upon us the Canterburian tymes, the sam desings, the same practises; will they not bring on at last the same horribill effects what ever fools doe ames? That old maxim in the Stat of Ingland is wyse & good that the king can do no fault, but the hiest ministers of state aught in [all?] reason to aunsuer on ther hiest pain for all miscariages. It was on of King James wysest practises to permit his greatest favorits to sink befor that by protecting of them the greif of his people sould fall on his oun bak, you have seen the contrair principle destructive & it still will be so. My L/ you ar the nobleman in the world I love best & esteem most. I think I may say & writ to you what I lyk. If you have gone with your hert to forsak your covenant, to countenanc the Reintroduction of bishops & books & strenthening the king by your advyse in thes things, I think you a prime transgressor and liable among the first to answer to God for that grit sin & opening a doer which in hast will no be closit, for persecution of a multitud of the best persons & most loyal subjects that ar in the thrie dominions, and if otherwayes your hert be wher it was as indeed I hope it is and that in your oun way you ar doing what you can for the truth of God, yit daylie I have my grit feirs for you. I think you stand tiklish & some of thes you convers with to be but men. Remimber your Coosin Hamiltoun's open poysening befor K. James eyes without any

[a] He died in the following year.

search. My hert whiles trimbles for you. I will contineu to pray for you do what you will. Mr. Gutry I ever opposit his way, but sie that non gett the king persuadit to tak ministers heids. Banishment will be wors for them then deth, when shall they gett breid if putt without the bounds of the Inglish language. Send them to Orkney or any other place wher they mey preach & live. You can I think obteen this if you will. For my self you have buried me, you have putt me in a place which Mr. Gill gott in welth but through his wastery hes left in tuentieth Scots pount in debt, and in a necessitie of expending ten th. pounds mor in perfyting his glorious buildings. The Inglish furnishit him liberally; for us we have nothing except what we expect by your l/ from his Ms benignitie. I am ane ill beggar, yit I must still creak to your l/ whil I live, which I think shall not be long, for your presbiterians at London ther misguiding hes slain me. I hear ther ar some of my tuemtie yeir old pamplets latly reprintit at London; this is totally without my knouledge, though indeed I remain fully in the mynd I was then, & which I wreit to you & you recevit tho the first copy perishit. If you or Mr. Sharp, whom we trustit as our oun soules, have suervit touards Chanceler hyds principles as nou we sie many do you have much to aunsuer for. This possibly mey be my last to you, therfor I crave no pardone for its lenth or Impertinency.

Your l/ old friemd R. B.

Endorsed: Mr. Robert Baily, 18. 9ber.

XLV.—James Sharp to James Wood.

[23116, f. 31].

Edinburgh, 22 Apryll, 1661.

Reverend & dear Brother, in haist.

That I did not send yow a returne to the favour of your letter by the poast who brought it, he was in the blame, who did not tell me

of his going till the very instant of the tyde when it was not possible for me to wreat ; since that time I hed a letter to be sent by John Henderson expressing my grief for the raising of the Synod,[a] & my sense upon the particulars which yow are pleased to mention in your letter, but by an unexpected occasion I was diverted from sending it by him ; let not I beseech yow, S^r^, my failing therin be imputed to a neglect of that respect I owe to yow. By some expressions of your letter I did apprehend yt the rumour of my making a journey [b] might have some beleef with yow, for which I profess to yow I knew no ground then; but since, uithin two dayes, from the pressings of some heer, I have some apprehensions that motions for such an undertaking will be urged upon me, to which I resolve not to give my positive ansuear, till I shall acquaint yow, & know your mind, & because I see ther is no place for delay, I must begg your pardon, if I make it my earnest request yt yow take the trouble to come hither again Weddensday nixt [the 24, *in margin*] once in the day, that I may have the satisfaction of speaking with yow. I can not help the suddainnes of this advertisement, this day, if the bearer had not offered the conveniency I had sent an express to yow; if your conveniency will not allow your coming to this place, I shall meet yow at Brunt island or Kinghorne upon thursday so as I may have notice on Weddensday. Sr, I am upon some other occasion straitned with time, y^t^ I can add no more but pray for your excuse, & again beseech yow to let me know what yow resolve upon Weddensday once in the day that accordingly I may dispose of myself. At meeting if you will favour me with it, yow shall know of the reasons of this my boldnes with yow, and what reason yow may see to pardon Your very affectionat & respected brother,

JA: SHARP.

For the right Reverend Mr. James Wood,
Provost of the Old Colledge in St. Andrews.

[a] Of Fife, forcibly dissolved by Rothes, probably at Sharp's suggestion.
[b] He went up to London in May.

XLVI.—Sir William Bellenden[a] to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23116, f. 51.]

My noble Lord, Edinburgh, the 1th of Maij, 1661.

* * * * *

Pardon me to be so bold as to let your Lop/ know that yow have many enemyes heir, who doe entertayne themselves with a full expectation of yoũr fall, believing undoubtedly that the dispatch sent by the Lord Chancellor & Lord Rothess[b] from this Parliament will doe yoũr turne. Ather now or never your part is to be acted, which I hope will be in such a way as may best confirme people in the former high esteeme held of yow, and give occasion to your enemyes to blũsh & repent themselves for y^r^ attempts agaynst yow. Earle Crawfurd & I doe fynd alreadie so many pretenders of satisfaction from the Excheqũer, and so litle to doe it with, that if the Localityes granted have place, ther needs no Excheqũer. If any new grant sall be desyred from his Ma^tie^: payable by the Excheqũer, Earle Crawfurd and I doe expect from your Lop/ that none such will be granted, ther being a present impossibilitie of satisfying the halfe of those already granted, and I doe fynd already such ane odium growing upon me for not engageing positivelie for the satisfaction of severall pretenders, that they begin to whisper litle things of unkyndness & disesteeme of me. In this great extremitie that the Exchequer is brought to, Earl Crawfurd and I doe hope that his Ma^tie^: will be graciously pleased to hear what is fitt to be sayd by WS[c] in relation to his effairs before that any new burthens shall be layd upon ws.

W. Bellenden.

[a] Deputy Treasurer.

[b] This is the first hint of the plots that were being formed by Middleton to oust Lauderdale. The dispatch itself is in 23116, f. 86.

[c] William Sharp, brother of James Sharp, and Lauderdale's private agent in Scotland.

XLVII.—Sir William Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23116, f. 68.]

My noble Lord, Edinburgh, 16th Maij, 1661.

Last night the Laird of Petc̃urr dyed suddaynlie, and hath left a plentiefull estate without burthen. The eldest of his children not being as yet 4 years old his estate holds ward, and some of the friends are dealing with the commissioner aboũt it. Yow cannot meet with any such thing for yoũr use heir, as to begg the ward & mariage from his Majesty, the advantage by it will be found verie considerable, This I offer as the first beginning of my thankfulness for the many undeserved favors which yoũr voluntary friendship hath beene pleased to conferr upon,

My noble Lord,

Your Lop^s^ most humble &

Most faythfull Servant,

W. Bellenden.[a]

If your Lop doe not make haist in it, the Commissioner will cary it from yow, q^t^soever be yoũr resolution in it, I desyre not to be named.

XLVIII.—Earl of Tweeddale[b] to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23116, f. 121.]

My Lord, Edenburght, Septemb. 14, 1661.

I was as thunder struke with the order for my comittment, and with the occasione of it mentiond in his Mat. letter. My Lord,

[a] Bellenden is throughout a firm adherent to Lauderdale's interest, probably because Middleton had supported the Register and the Advocate against him in a question of precedence.

[b] Cousin-german to Lauderdale; attached to the Presbyterian interest. Middleton procured his arrest on the ground that he had voted against Guthrie's execution. He was released May, 1662. Mackenzie, p. 60. His son afterwards married Lauderdale's only daughter.

yow know I have noe caws to be much in Love with speak[ing], and yow may be sur I was not frequent at it. What I said . . . . . on the occasione of Mr. Guthrys proces was only to qwalify [my] wote not going along in a sentenc to death, not but that I thought [the] fact deserwid it, and the Law was clear, bot som circum[sta]ncis (as the disorders of the tims, the general distractions [me]ns minds wer into, and that the restrayning pour of the laws [wa]s sadly too much abattid, and the executione of them [lo]assid) did incline me to som other punishment. If it pleas your lo/ to give any account of this to his Ma^{t}, and that [no]twithstanding it doth grive me and I heartily repent (that [si]nc a non ligwet might have serwid my turne upon this [su]bject) I should have spoke at all. Much mor that any ex[p]ressions of mine wer capable of misconstructione: and I beg his Mat. pardon if any thing prejudicial to his interest or sounding that way hes escapid me, and doe sinceerly proffes that the establishment and security of government, much mor in soe gratious a princ, is of mor concernment to me then all things debaittid, and soe hotly contendit for thes tuentie years. And in prejudic of the government I will follow noe opinione nor interest foundid upon opinionative questions, bot doe Resinge my self and my priwate opinione in matters concerning government to my Soweraings will and pleasur, to whom it belongs, subjectione and obedienc beeing only the part of,

My Lord,

Your Lo^{ps} most affectionat humble serwant,

TWEEDDALE.

If your Lo/ pleas delayver the inclusid to the King's Mat.

[N.B.—*The words in brackets* [ ] *are supplied, the margin being torn away*].

XLIX.—The Earl of Tweeddale to Charles II.

[23116, f. 122.]

Most Sacrid Soveraigne,

Your Ma^ts^ displeasur was to me as the messenger of death and the occasione of doth exceedingly aflict me. It wer presumptione to trouble your Ma^t^ with what I can say for my self upon that subject: and of myself as I stand, affectionat to your Ma^t^ government and Royal persone, and disposed to your serwice. My Lord Secretary will I hope with your Ma^t^ best conveniency Signify what I have expressid to him, Only Most Gratious Soverainge in your princely Clemency Resarve for me a place in your grac and fawour wherof I have soe Largly shayrid, And shal mak the desinge of my life wittnes that I account a perfitt submissione to your Ma^t^ commands acceptable service to God and suttable to the dewty of

Your Majestys
Your Ma^t^ Most dewtiful
Loyal and obedient subject.

Endorsed by Tweeddale:
Coppy of my Letter to the King.

L.—Unto the right honorable The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, Johne Earle of Tweiddale,

[23116, f. 125.]

Humbly Sheweth,

Whereas your Lo/ have bein pleised upon a command from the Kings Majestij to committ me to the Castle, And being exceidingly afflicted with his Majesties displeasur I desyre to Expresse to your Lo/ the greiff of my heart, for whatsoever hes bein the occasion

procureing such resentment from so gratious a Prince of whose favour I have so largly shared, And to whose commands I accompt a perfect submission acceptable service to God, & suteable to the deuty of every good subject. How observant of them and what ready obedience I have given your Lo/ can witnes, being filled with the sense of my obligation, and ingaged in my duety, to be thus clouded with his Majesties displeasur, Is a burden I am unable to ly under.

May it therefor please your Lo/ to give such accompt of my actings As I may be restored to his Majesties favour, And to interpose for my inlargment; At leist that my imprisonment may be changed in confynment to my house at Bothans, in regard of my wyfes condition now neir the tyme of her delyvery. And your Lo/ ansuer.

TWEEDDALE.

LI.—PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23116, f. 126.]

MY LORD,

Att our last meiting which was occasioned by a letter sent from his Mā^{ty} for committing the Earle of Tueiddale prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, Wee did issūe Orders for it, which were no sooner made knowne to him bot immediatly they were obeyed, and he entered himself prisoner: Wee have now receaved a Petition from him which we have sent here inclosed, to be presented by your Lo/ to his Majesty, And find our selves oblidged to give this testimony in his behalf, that at the late meiting of Councill when the matter of Church Governement was under deliberation He did

heartilie comply with his Mãties commands & cary himself as a faithfull councellor and loyall subject. When his Maties farder pleasur shall be made knoũne to ws as to that particular, we shall be ready to prosecute the same.

Wee are,

My Lord,

Edinbr, 18 Septer, 1661. Your affectionat freinds,

GLENCAIRNE CAN'LLARIUS.
ROTHES.
MARISCHALL.
A. BRUCE. MORTON.
JO. GILMOUR. SINCLARE.
[Sir Arch. Stewart] A. S. BLAKHALL. A. PRIMEROSE.
Rot. MURRAY. J. WAUCHOPE.

LII.—

[23117, f. 19.]

CHARLES R.

Innstructions to John Earle of Middleton, our Comissioner to our Parliament of Scotland.

Concerning the act of Indemnity.

1. Wheras we have formerly declared our resolution to grant unto our subjects of Scotland ane act of pardon & indemnity for all things done in or relating to the late troubles since the yeer 1636, with such exceptions as our Parlt should thinke fitt: It is our expres pleasure that in the next session of our Parlt this act of Indemnity be past with the exceptions following, viz.

2. All who shalbe found guilty of the murder of our Royall father, if any such be discovered: all who are already sentenced

and declared fugitives by our Parl[t]. And with the exception of the payment of the fines[a] to be discerned in this Parl[t].

3. And we, being desirous that these fines be so moderat & well regulat both as to the persons and proportions as may witnes our affection to our people, & our compassion even to those who have done very ill things against our Royall father & us, It is our pleasure as to the persons that the fines be restricted to such onely who joynd in arms or opposition to the Engagement for our Royall fathers delivery in the year 1648: or who were most guilty in the usurpations & unworthie acts & actings that insued therupon: or who had any accession to the western Remonstrance, or to any base complyance with the late usurpers: or who sold their Levies in the yeer 1648 or therafter.

4. And as to the proportion of their fines, we thinke fit that one yeers rent of land money & trade should be the proportion of each persons fine: But becaus it will be impossible without great trouble & expens of time to get their fines exactly proportiond, We allow to yow a Latitude of some more or less yow, being always carefull that the proportions be as neer as yow can to a yeers rent.

5. And becaus the prejudice occurred to our service by the selling of the Levies & of the basenes of the designe, we allow yow in these cases a Latitude of proportioning those fines in some measure to the advantage the parties made by such unworthie barganes.

6. And seing the doing this worke will take up more time then can well be allowed to this session of the Parl[t], we judge it fitt there be some previous preparation therin: And for that end we allow yow to call the Earle of Rothes, President of our Councell, the Marquis of Montrose, the Earles of Hadinton & Calander: The President of the Session, Lo: Halkerton, Tarbet, & Carden, S[r] Jo: Scougall & Jo: Bell, Provest of Glasgow, or any five or more of

[a] Scandalously abused by Middleton.

them as yow shall have occasion to set doune the names of the persons & the proportions of the fines to be payed by them, and to represent the same first to us then to our Parl^t. To be ordered & determined as shalbe thoght fitt. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 29 of Jan^ry, 166½, & of our Reign the 13^th yeer.

By his Maj^ties comand,

LAUDERDAILL.

LIII.—LADY BALCARRES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23117, f. 52.]

MY LORD,

* * * * * * *

Since I hed this I have receved an other from my brother,[a] wher in hee tels me ther is som nou hier y^t did talk my good Lord Crafford shall not return tresourer, and disayrs me to shew your Lo/ so much y^t you may heve a car you lose not such a friend in the stet, he hops you will disapoynt y^m in this usin, they profes y^t invie agenst Craford, bot truly (hee says) its agenst Laderdeall, for they think if you war out being as they think on of the prym offesers of stet, If you war out our Samson, whos hear is cot,[b] wold be in y^r plac, and they wold doe what they ples. I knou, my Lord, I nied not mek it my desayr to you y^t loves him to have a car of my dier Lord Crafford. But if my disayr or any thing I could doe could contribut to serve him, for my Lord I most tell you hee hes bein and is my most kynd friend, I pray the Lord God reward him I sie hee remembers my Dierest u^t grit kyndnes the rich God I hop will heve a car of him and his femelie, y^t non shall heve pouer to herm it. If I could be so hapie onc in my lyff to

[a] Rothes.

[b] ? Newburgh, who had been Lauderdale's rival for the Secretaryship ; or Primrose, or Tarbet. See 23117, ff. 82 b, 92 b.

spek u^{t} you (not in a hurie) I wold say mor of this y^{t} you may thank him for hir who is unchengably

if you war at lasour this night or to morrow y^{t} you might allow me on qwarter of an hour of y^{t} tym I wold com to you, so be plesed to caus Robin M tell the berer when I may com, nou y^{t} I am in som hop to get hom I wold heve y^{r} advic uhat I shall do in my busenes ut the King. The Lord I hop uill heve pitie on me, I wold son be hom, and to goe u^{t}hout any hop of relif to our Estet or any thing to sotesfie creditors it burdens my heart y^{t} nieds no mor to pres it y^{n} what I heve.

I thoght to heve sent you my Brothers leter, bot its soe dim ill uret y^{t} I heve not uill to give you so grit a trubill; its only to tell me of the pardon can be hed I may heve 100^{lb}.

[*Unsigned:* from Anne, Lady Balcarres, afterwards Duchess of Argyl.]

LIV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[*Undated:* but the opening sentence shows that it was written on Saturday, September 6, 1662].

[23117, f. 79 a.]

May it please your Lo/,

Yesterday the parliament mett, and past ane act[b] that all persons in any publick trust should under their hands abjure the Covenants, and own it as treason to take arms against the king upon any accompt . . . . els be incapable of trust; and so after passing of some other privat bills adjourned till next Tusday, when it is

[a] Here begin the letters concerned with the Billeting affair. This is the first having the private mark under the signature W. S. which informed Lauderdale that there was writing in sympathetic ink on the other side. An asterisk is placed to represent the mark.

[b] Directed against Lauderdale and Crawford. But Lauderdale was willing, as he said, to take a cart-load of such oaths. Crawford, by refusing it, lost the Treasurership.

thought the act of indemnitie may be in readines to pass, and then they are to adjourn for some tyme.

Your Lo/ will have from your brother[a] a full accompt of the condition of your Lo/ affairs here. Money is ill payed in at present. Creditors press much payment of their adrents, and are willing many of them upon this condition to abate 6 years, if money be not better payed in. The ferming of yowr Lo/ estate here, which is possible, will be necessarie; of this your Lo/ brother can say more, bot I humblie conceave, that were it managed as it should and might be, your Lo/ in eight years space needed not be debitor to any in sixpence, and your estate be left in a better condition then now it is.

The Lord Brodie is in a way of taking cours for paying of the the money due for Caddels ward, at least of satisfieing some of your Lo/ creditors for so much as it comes to. When it is done your Lo/ shall be acquainted by Your Lo/

W. S.*

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

[23117, f. 79[a].]

I have [neither] heart nor hand to wreat of a sentence . . . . was silent since I had nothing pleasing to [write] Sheldon[b] would not have written so fulie had he had any but displeasing mater to trouble Mr. Read[c] with. A spat [?] at present is running highlie here, and to damm it here I see [?] not the possibilitie. The present business of fynes[d] is very displeasing and well desoblidge note a few and surelie [?] oblidge verie few and to little purpose. When the Act that past yesterday was moved in the articles, it wes amongst some talked of that Mr. Hastie[e] and Mr. Red were meant[ion?] it; bot

[a] Hon. Charles Maitland of Haltoun. [b] James Sharp. [c] Lauderdale.
[d] See instructions to Middleton, *ante*. [e] Crawford, Lord Treasurer.

others houped they would be misteaken. Then it wes moved in the Committee of fynes that the 12 persons to be excepted by the act of indemnitie should be listed by the billets, and there names sent up to be disposed of as M^e [a] should think fitt. Tweeddale is feared he may be one, he hes . . . . and doeing what he can. Sheldon helps all he can. He thins it safest that the gentleman's busines still sleep. He is confident you mistake not his wreating; he could say more than he can wreat, were he with Mr. Read . . . . us not, &c.

Yours

LV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 80a.]

May it please your Lo/ Sep. 9, 1662 [Tuesday].

* * * * *

This day the parliament mett, and having past the act of Indemnitie and many other acts of which I am not able to give a particulare accompt, adjourned till the 20th of May nixt.

I remain,

Your Lo/,

W. S.*

LVI.—

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

[23117, f. 80 b.]

When I wrot by the last I knew not that Mr. Red wes to be concerned in the exception of 12, but it seems viceroy [b] hes taken

[a] Charles II. [b] Middleton.

pains to be roy in his word, that he would make Mr. Red know it, &c. The billeting being agreed to in the articles yesterday, the severall members came this day to the hous with their billets in readines, and by 82 Mr. Red is found to be one of the 12 excepted persons. Mr. Haistie [a] by 2 or 3 is escaped at this bout. The Lord of the seat that dwells besid Mr. Red in the garden [b] is one. Tweeddale by hard working this day is escaped this trap. Sheldon and some others gave in blank billets, he doubts not of Mr. Reds favour in construeing aright his not wreating, bot prays him to shift for himself the best way he can at this bout, and to start in tyme. He hes difficultie enough to fend off at present. Did not vote to the acts and could not help what is done this day, tho he is confident in this, there is no hazard for Mr. Red, tho he would have him upon his guard. For the paper filled up with the names of the 12 excepted persons is to be sent to M[e] sealed and not to be divulged till he declare his pleasure, those who opened the bag in which the billets were sealed up being sworn in parliament to be faithfull and secret, so that is not knowen nor to be made knowen, nor to pass into ane act unless M[e] command it, and sure Mr. Red will know from M[e] when it comes to him, what his pleasure will be, and for all this may be [c] secretarie to that letter. The 3 cam last from Mr. Red [d] have not been idle in the billeting, what by solisting, threatning, commanding, &c., for the dispersed the billets and imployed agents and commanded in the name of, &c., listing so and so. And yet for all this they and others at the helm, apprehend Dr. Hart [e] will not be separat from M[e]. This day also ane act is past declaring the forfaulture of any person in this parliament, to be extended to his heirs, and that it shall be accompted and punished as the high cryme of a disloyall subject to solist or inter-

[a] Burnet and Mackenzie say that Crawford was excepted. But William Sharp had private information, and was probably right.

[b] ? [c] And was. [d] Tarbet, Richmond, and Newburgh. [e] Charles ?

ceed for favour to [a] them. O strange, what shall all this turn to. Mr. Red knowes what is meant by it. I hope it is to his advantage that M[e] shall see the absurditie of putting him in the categorie with some . . . . excepted. Some other things Mr. Hastie hes by this, I am so vexed at present, and will be untill I hear how M[e] takes this. That more can not be . . . . who still is in all duetie as he seems.

LVII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 81.]

When I wrot by the post on Saturday last[b] in the way I hope you have ere now understood,[c] I did [tell] you that you were to be concerned in the exception of 12. Yesternight by the post I wrot in the same way [of] what has passed her since; and having caus to suppose that the letter may be, if not destroyed, yet forslowed [a day?] or two, and upon good consideration that this may be prejudiciall in this juncture, this bearer is sent of . . . . with this[d] and what the friend of Mr. John Crawfurd[e] can say; he is trusted with safe and speedie . . . . eire of what is written, and wee are bold to think it of that concernment that Mr. Reid will judge it wor[thie] of commanding him by the first after arryvall in the way he is told of, to let us know he hes answered [our] trust; and that after reading all shall be burnt; the mater being that which I hope shall and may be as well ma[naged?] and better then it needs be remembred. It wes fryday last before my discoverie in the last wes made of [the c]abals resolution to endeavour the exception of these by the act, whom they have of some tyme past designed; then [in the] articles their first work wes to cary the way of billeting, which upon a surprisall and specious pretences after [such d]ebates

[a] Aimed at Lauderdale, who had appeared in favour of Lorn; see following letter.
[b] 23117, f. 79. [c] *i.e.* sympathetic ink.
[d] Since it was sent by special bearer, sympathetic ink was not used.
[e] ? Lord Crawford, who was with Lauderdale at this time.

as could be made, overcame some to yeild, and after wes voted there, and so brought in to the Parliãt in a fair [and] taking generall are.

Having carried this first step, the conclave, the Com,[a] Duke,[b] Newburgh, Tarbet and Register [made] it their next work, at the generall meeting of the Parliãt, to have it brought in by a sort of surprisall to [them?], bot yet so as to have what they intended fixed, and therefore forthwith upon Mondays night, when all wes [in] the articles to their mynd, take freedom to open their resolutions, and tell their friends that they behoved not onelie [to put?] such in their own billets, bot to engadge all friends, relations, interests & dependents, who through fear and hope [are?] few at present, to follow their good example; and so the agents, Cromartie,[c] Creightoun, Aboyn, Provests of [Edinburgh and] Glaswow are sett a work, the Duk, Tarbet and others not sparing to tell some that this wes the Comers list and [would?] now be a test of their honestie to doe in this what wes so comanded, and he did not move in it without [his m]asters warrand. This prevailed with too many; others thought themselves bot deceived and therfore varied in [the . . . . . ?] names given them in list; bot the first in all the conclaves list were Lauderdaill, Crawfurd, Sir Robert Murray, and Tweeddale; some were ashamed to mention the 3 first, bot many did it in heat and too many through fear, as some have confessed. So in this way came the billets to be cast in a bag holden by the Register [at] the foot of the throne by the hand of evere member, without being seen by any bot themself. Then, all done, the [bag] is sealed by the Chancellours[d] seal, and the Comr declared the openers of it to be, according to the power given to him by the parli: to name them, himself, Chancellour, St. Andrews, Edinburgh,[e] Duke, Amandaill, President of Session, [Bell] of

[a] Middleton. [b] Richmond.

[c] Urquhart of Cromartie, cousin of Sir G. Mackenzie, of Tarbet.

[d] Glencairn.

[e] Wishart, formerly chaplain to Montrose, a nominee of Middleton.

Glasgow, and Paterson of Perth; who being sworn in face of Parliāt for faithfulnes and secrecie, went to another room after adjourning the parliāt for ane hour, and there opened the bag, in which are found in the first place 82 excepting Lauderdaill 3 or 4 delyvering Crawfurd, Sir Rob[t] Murray clearlie excepted, Tweeddale fairlie [de]livered (for this he wrought diligentlie without and within the walls of the hous yesterday morning and by a poynt of pure industrie hes gott free). This came to knowledge stranglie,[a] I need now tell it. Then they come down to the hous and there the Register acquaints the Parliāt that here wes the act of seclusion now filled up with the names of the 12 excepted persons, and so went up to the throne and gave it to the Coñ[r], who, having again desired secrecie of those who opened the bag, sayed he would keep it close and send it by a person of trust in a sealed paper to his Maj/. Till he should declare his pleasure nothing should be known of it. So after the passing of some other acts and privat talk, which by this Mr. John Crawfurd hes some accompt of, excepting that about no graunt to be made of the old rests of taxations (in favour to the desires of some shires who begged it) till further advice, or nixt session of parliāt; this is to make Duk Hamiltons ? graunt null. Now with his sealed letter it is sayed Tarbet is now taking post, bot it is not doubted bot this bearer preceids him,[b] and so I hope will Mr. Red wiselie prevent him; for a friend tells me he gives it out that he spok of this seclusion to M[e] when he wes with him, and then he told him, if ye doe that he can help it who gave you power to doe it, and so hope I he will. Sheldon hes not voted in these things, doubts not of your favour in construeing aright his not wreating; he hes had a hard game to play at this tyme, were all knowen; he cannot beleev Dr. Hart[c] can pairt with Mr. Red, but prayes him to be verie wise and make the best shift

[a] Through his brother James, one of the scrutineers ?

[b] Burnet, sect. 151. Lord Lorne's messenger arrived three days before Tarbet.

[c] Charles II.

at this bout; the person of Flisk[a] can say no other thing. Now shall it be beleeved that M^e^ is privie to this, or that he meant such officers of state to be excepted, when he gave power for 12; shall it be beleeved this shall not be construed ane encroachment on the royaltie, without hearing, without a caus, upon their suspition of their principles so to condemn such men; shall it be beleeved that his Ma/. will construe that to be the opinion of or advice of Parł: or people to seclud such, when such wayes were taken by such; and these who did list, did it in such a way. There will be many fair pretences of the justness of the Resolution, and the providence in this way of lott, bot shall such lies be refuges. I hope his Maj. will beleev truth, and this is upon highest perrill. Many other passages might be mentioned, bot the beirers dispatch calls for haist and Mr. John Crawfurds friend hes sayed some other things. I beseech Mr. Red to take notice how he finds the letter writt from this yesternight. Knowing notes will be compared, I need add no more, onelie let the bearer be as litle seen as is possible and as soon dispatched as &c., &c.

[Wednesday] Sept. 10, 62.

5 aclock afternoon.

The intent of the act about the heirs of forfaulted persons here wes to debarr Mr. Read from moving M^e^ for his friends; it wes once layed asyd, tho long sinc designed, bot now there is confidence for anything against Mr. Red, and the rather that now Tarbet must be either justice clerk or at least conjunct secretarie, and Midlton, if not Flisk,[b] treasurer; The Chanc: for all his complyance at present is said to be aimed at; bot I trust ———

Addressed to

Mr. John Red.

This, Haist, haist.

[a] ? See 23119, f. 28.

[b] See previous note.

LVIII.—

[23119, f. 160.]

[Original Billet given by the Duke of Lennox to Lord Halkerton on 8 Sept. 1662, and inclosed in Lauderdale's Letter to Sir Rob. Moray, 8 Aug. 1663.] (*A note by E. J. L. Scott*).

CRAFORD.
LAUTHERDELL.
CASELLS.
LOUDEN.
LOUDIAN.
TWADALL.
DUFFUS.
S^r^ ROBERT MORY.
JUSTICE CLARKE.[a]
ALEXANDER BRAUDY, of y^t^ Ilk.
SESNOCKS.
S^r^ JAMES STUART, late Provost of Edin.
S^r^ JOHN CHIESLY.[b]

LIX.—WILLIAM SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

Edv. [Thursday] Sep^t^. 11, 1662.

[23117, f. 82 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

By the former I omitted onelie to acquaint Mr. Red that some here spare not to say that if he doe not acquiesce to what is now done, the[y] may and will indyt him of high treason.[c]

[a] There were others of the same name.

[b] Clerk to the Committee of both kingdoms on the occasion of the giving up of Charles I. to the English Parliament. See 23118, f. 8. See Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, p. 49.

[c] For his share in giving up Charles I. to the English, see 23119, f. 78.

To morrow morning the Duke, Dumfries, and Tarbet, pairts from this with letters and instructions to acquaint M^e with all that is done. It is sayed the Chanc. wes ambitious of Imployment at this tyme, bot that he hes been fooled out of it. Tarbet gives it out he wes to have gone north, bot wes commanded now to goe to London. He wes unwilling to goe the jurney for the offer of 1000*l.* sterl.[a] for his panes, bot when it is told him that he shall be Register, and he that now is, secretarie, he is content. What faith may be in these I cannot say, bot as I hear I cannot forbear to give Mr. Red notice. Sure it is tyme for him to be awakened to his guard.

Sheldon says he knew not of this design against Dr. Red till last sabboth night; now he finds it to be in earnest, and he sees no remedie bot that Dr. Red give himself to a composure; he sayes letters are opened and so cannot wreat. It is thought Mr. Haistie cannot sitt for all this escape. It is a great length they are gone here, unless M^e warrant, which some say he does.

It is sayd that nixt weik the Com^r and Newburgh are to goe to the West, and from thence to Ireland[b] to see the Lieutenant. I know nothing further at present, else it should be sayed. Flesh . .[c] [?Fletcher] is gone to Fife yesterday, and this day they at the Abbey have been consulting, and now are making readie for a pri . . . .

[N.B. The fly leaf, with the address, of this letter is gone; it may have had some few words on it, in continuation of the above. "pri . . ." may be privy council? but it is quite illegible.]

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[a] Mackenzie, p. 66.

[b] Newburgh went alone.

[c] Sir J. Fletcher, Advocate.

LX.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 86.]

May it please your Lo/,

Yesternight betwixt 6 and 7 oclock I received with aboundant satisfaction your Lop^s^ of Sep^r^ 27, and this morning about the same tyme I delivered in hand your Lo/ to the President[a] at Craigmiller, who is making readie with all deligence to obey his Ma/, commands and intends to be in English ground once on Monday night, and this he desires I may humblie signifie to your Lo/. He hes by a lyne acquainted the Com^r^ and Chanc., now in the west, with this his resolution to obey his Maj. commands. It is neither billeting nor no billeting that can or shall be the rule of his duetie to your Lo/, who while he can know anything shall ever account its best improvment to be for your Lo/ service. The bearer wes satisfied for the half of the expens of his jurney before he parted from this, and your L/ satisfaction is the reward which obligis him much more than all this can come to. The accompt your Lo/ is pleased to give of yourself is highlie satisfieing to all your Lo/ friends here, and a good ground of encouragment to wait for better things. God be thanked that my master is above the wash of disquyet from the trouble of lies and malice. I shall have opportunity to acquaint Mr. Sheldon with what my M^r^ wreats, for this tyme past he is at home.

Mr. Cockburn is verie sensible how infinitlie he is bound to your Lo/ favour. I shall punctuallie observ your Lo/ commands about the Shirrief, Clerk of Ross, and to be sure he shall be a person qualified as your Lo/ commands. Mr. Haistie his man here had further opportunitie then my M^r^ his man had to know both name and surname of the Listers, solicitors for it and of the receivers, and will tell him what he knowes; bot certain it is that it wes they

[a] Earl Rothes.

whom he names are the same whom I know, and in this way I need not repeat them. And the presi[dt] I hope will deal freelie and plainlie with my Mr. and sure can tell what others in this cannot, bot whatsoever of certaintie can be knowen shall not be concealed by

Your Lo/,

W. S.

Ed[r] Octob. 2 [Thursday], 1662.

The Countes of Crawfurd had your Lo[s]/ to D. Hamilton,[a] to be sent forthwith; and this day I have sent that to the E. Tweeddale.

LXI.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[Enclosed in a letter to the Hon. Charles Maitland, dated Thursday, 16 Oct. 1662.]

[23117, f. 92 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

This last black box wes to some a sorte of surprize, bot to none more then to the Duke,[b] who, upon the word having notice that such a thing wes passing, resolved how fitt it wes for him in such ane embassage to leave all his train and with 5 [c] and himself to haisten to come to his Maj. to give ane accompt, fearing this box might bring here strange things. Tarbet professes he is not for playing small game; at this turn, he would not take up the justice clerk's [d] place, tho at his foot; he must either be conjoint secretarie with Newburgh or nothing. It is not expected by the unbiassed that his Maj. can accompt this billetting either the sense or vote of parl: being neither of the major pairt; and therefore no weight

[a] The Earl of Selkirk, son of the Marquis of Douglas, married Anne, eldest surviving daughter of James, 1st Duke of Hamilton, Duchess of Hamilton in her own right. On the Restoration, in consequence of a petition from the Duchess, he was created Duke of Hamilton for life.

[b] Richmond. [c] Appears to be Middleton. [d] Sir Robert Moray.

should be layed upon it; bot at the bottom, it is suspected the grandee [a] above is; and therfore when the first huff is over, his counsell may take place. It is said the Chancellour here misgave, els no billetting had been. Sheldon hes sayed more to, then he could wreat, by Bellenden, who comes from hence this week. The Com[r] is goeing west as is sayed.

This little that I can come to know I am thus bold to offer, bot in all humilitie I rely on a pardon & a word of reproof shall silence.

Your Lordship's

LXII. —William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 98 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

May I in all humilitie beg it may not offend Mr. Red, while I am bold with all earnestnes to intreat and beseech my Mr. to be much upon his guard. I cannot lyke it and farr less understand it, that the Com: so forthires his jurney to Dr. Hart. I see small appearance of his stirring from hence in haist; some caus must be for this at such a tyme of such busines. I wish the Chancel: with you [b] be not at the bottom of this caus. O let Mr. Red look wele to that. I think the presid[t] will be out wearied by their stay here. Is it fitt that Mr. Red should think he stands in the field after caryeing of the day, while his enemie is at distance strong, and no doubt hes both scouts and ane ambush in wait heer enough. It is thought agreement must be and will be the best, and that he should not onelie plye to it, bot endeavour it, for all that is past. Mr. Haistie, his cousin, hes sayed that Mr. Red wret unhandsomelie of the Com: to a confident of his here, who shew his letter to the Comm: sure

[a] ? Middleton, or Clarendon. [b] Clarendon.

this cannot be, bot more sure a most unworthie confidant. If he hes been so wretched, how should I be satisfied my Mr. knew him; this is not unworthie the tracing; sure he can remember both what and to whom he wreats. Nothing[a] spares not to say that the act of seclusion must pass els the act of Indemnitie cannot; and tho Mr. Red pass at this tyme free, yet the Parl: will indyt him of treason for voting to the deliverie of the late King, and being the 2d person of that Committe. Please to compare notes with Mr. Haistie. If by this boldnes I transgress bounds, which I love not and dare not practise. I, &c.

LXIII.—The Earl of Tweeddale to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 106.]

My dear Lord, Bolhans, Octob: 1662.

I did yisternight and not befor heir that it is reported, and that very confidently, that your Lop the Treasurer, and Justice Clerk wer in my List given in in parl: My lord, I love not to chase calumnys, bot this is soe blakmouthed I cannot let it pass without saying somwhat for myself. I confess it is hard for me to find words of sobernes to expres my senc of it. Bot my wittnes is in heaven such a thought never entered into my heart, nor could I have bought my saftie at that rate. And that nether of you three wer in my list God is my wittnes. Such words fall not lightly from me, bot you may be sure I am oppressed with the forgery; and if any indeavours[b] I have usid for my self occasionid this, God knows I would as willingly have usid them to serve you if it had

[a] Primrose. See 23118, ff. 8, 9, 10

[b] See 23117, f. 80.

bein within my pour; otherways I wer the most ungrate man liveing, and unworthy to subscrive my self,

My lord,

Your lo^p faithful and affectionat humble servant,

TWEEDDALE.

LXIV.—SIR PETER WEDDERBURNE [a] TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23117, f. 112.]

MAY IT PLEAS YO^r LO^p,

The Councill wes cald by my Lord Com^r to meet on Tuysday last, and then the condition of manie parishes whos churches are vacant by the late acts & proclamations being consided, letters wer ordered to be wrettin for the tuo Archbishops y^t some course may be taken by ther advyce.

This day, they did againe meet and ordered a letter to be wrettin by my Lord Chancell^r to the King for causing exped the Commission for the borders, robberies increasing verie much, likwise a letter to be wreitin to My Lord Treasurer to show the great prejudice the Kingdom sustains for want of the Excheq^r.

The Minister of Wamphray wes imprisoned for revyling & cursing some ministers coming from the Assemblie at Glasgo. and S^r James Stewart is ordered to be cited to produce his chaplain for a most seditious sermon.[b] The rest of busines wer privat not worth yo^r Lop^s trouble, from,

My Lord,

Yor Lo^ps

Most Humble Servant,

PET. WEDDERBURNE.

Edinb^r, 6^th 9^br, 1662.

[a] Clerk to the Council.

[b] See Wodrow.

LXV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale

[23117, f. 116.]

May it please your Lo/,

Your Lo^s^/ of the 1^st^ instant, which I had this morning, wes some confutation of a groundles lie amongst many others in this tyme of the abounding of too many lies and too much malice. It is mater of exceeding great refreshment to all honest men here to hear of the disappoyntment of so hellish plotters.[a] Let the king live and all his enemies perish, and all the mischief return upon their own heads. I delivered in hand your Lo^s^/ to the Duke and Earle[b] both at this place, and by the first shall send the other to the Countes. The Earle wes much refreshed, for he hes not been a litle vexed at the fals lie[c] wes made of him. I wish he were with my M^r^. I endeavoured to see the Clerks Letter, but had no will to seem to be too curious; it is no mater, for I am sure my M^r^ wreats not bot what is avouable, bot I having notice that this wes talked and beleeved by persons of note here, could not omitt to let my M^r^ hear it. Our good companie here is lyke to keep Christmas at the Abbey, and so farr as I can learn as yet to stay a litle after.

This day I accepted your Lo/ bill for 60*l.* and shall be readie to pay it thankfullie, it does exhaust what the signet hes produced since my last bills, besyds what by them I wes in credit for, and unles this cow begin to give morke milk I shall have no provision for bills to your Lo/ in haist. Your Lo/ friends would gladlie borrow the rent of Swintoun, at least for satisfieing creditors at this term,[d] bot I wait for your Lo/ commands. I shall have in readines the papers your Lo/ wreats for, and shall not fail to send them by a sure bearer. If they be not too big the post will be speediest.

[a] Possibly refers to a rising at this date mentioned by Pepys.

[b] Tweeddale. [c] 23117, f. 106.

[d] Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of Lauderdale's ambition was want of funds, especially when Lady Castlemaine was in the question.

It is highlie complained of there is no exchequer here.

Sir Peter Wedderburn tells me that after wreating of his own letter, This to his Majestie wes signed and sent to him to be transmitted, which he humblie begs your Lo/ may please deliver, as also that the other to my Lord Treasurer may be sent to his Lo/.

I remain,

Your Lo/ obedient servant,

W. SHARP.

Ed[r] [Thursday], Nov[r]. 6, 1662.

LXVI.—WILLIAM SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23117, f. 122.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR Lo/,

This is humblie to acquaint your Lo/ that this evening I have delivered in hand to Sir David Ogilvie, son to the Earle of Airlie, who takes post from this to London to-morrow betimes, these papers your Lo/ wrot to me for; he is plased to promise that if it please God he come safe himself he will deliver them in hand to your Lo/. I shall be in pain till I hear they are so, for they are papers of no small price and after perusall I doubt not bot your Lo/ send them doun to be keept amongst your best evidents, as they wele deserve. Having payed your Lo/ last bill of 60*l.* on me, I am not yet strong for another, whensoever I am the sending of it shall not be delayed by

W. S.*

Nov. 18, 1662.

[f. 122 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

I doubt not bot my Mr. hes right apprehensions of . . . .

. . . . . the articles . . . . .

. . . . . Mr. Haistie how they will profitt (?) I cannot learn yet if (?) they will cary all . . . . and to be a strong assault. I hope Mr. Red is awake and upon his guard. The brech they say is unreparable, they have done my Mr. a wrong which he can neither forget nor forgive, and ther for they cannot trust him, and rather then M^e his freind should be still opposed or retarded. He must lay my M^r aside, for he and his pairtie are and will be to the full (?) with all aggravations as persons that have stated themselves in opposition to Kirk and State and ther fore sit (?) . . . in this danger. They are thought to be too secure. I can learn nothing of mor particular sins my last. I trust breaches never so wyde may be made up. The . . . . shall the heale be and the . . . . . be.

LXVII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 134b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

Ed^r. [Saturday] Dec. 13, 1662.

The presid^t bids tell my M^r that a little after his coming here, found that he wes no sooner gone from this bot these with whom he pairted good friends begun to speak *loudlie* [?hardlie] and rough against him ; particularlie the Register, who wes the man endeavoured to wrong him most, and cryed it out that he wes gone up more to uphold my M^r, and that wes all his errand, whatever might be pretended ; and yet now but his return protestes fair to him ; bot he sayes, had he knowen when he wer up, and sure this is not my fault, for I acquainted my master in this way, he should have loosed his tongue against him ; and sure he had better ground by farr. Bot more of him my M^r may know heirafter. The presd^t sayes he protests he finds the Com. to be of good nature ; he sayes

he findes him resolved for a speedie jurney, bot I suspect this month and a part of the next must pass. Newburgh is not yet come,[a] and he must see ane . . . . ere he goe. I hear of nothing bot alarmes? and it is sayed of ill instruments gait on [?] the fingers; those most conserned may easily be at one. They say the presd[t] [?is kept] close since he came home, and is clearlie suspected, bot he tells them what they may, so must, find to be truth. This is all, &c.

LXVIII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23117, f. 137 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

[Tuesday, Dec. 16, 1662.]

Yesternight being monday the 15[th] instant, at eight o'clock at night, James Deans, postm[r] at the Cannogate delivered in hand to the Chanc: the pacquet of the 10[th] directed to him by my M[r]. from Whithall, Carnegie and his Lady and others being then with him; the letter directed to the Register sleept with him all [night], and this morning at 8 o'clock he goes straight to the Abbey to the Com: and about 10 o'clock they come from thence together to the session house, and there at 12 o'clock the Chanc: gives the letter to the Register, who thought it no less strange than the other two did. He will need a second letter before he be able to answere the desire of it, which he sayes he cannot doe in 10 or twelve dayes tyme. It is understood that the Com: is concerned in it; bot for all this, no appearance of any haist for a jurney sooner then wes before resolved, which wes a little after Christmas. They keep all verie close, and the Chanc: endeavours it may be very secret; no further accompt can I have of it I shew it to Sheldon and the pres: They think

[a] From Ireland.

enough bot say verie litle. What I wrote by the last were his ipsissima [ver]ba, who bid me wreat what then I did except 2 o[r 3 words] so farr as I remember. What I can hear further, &c., &c., shall be signified to my master, from whom nothing worth [my master's] trouble, and that any sure way come to my knowledge shall be concealed.

LXIX.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 3.]

My Noble Lord, Edinburgh [Tuesday], 13th Janu: 1663[6⅔].

Your Lopps/ of the 3d I received last from Captain Arnot, for which I returne humble thanks, fynding by it the continuance of your friendship and goodnes to me. For the letter I wrote to your Lop/ from Stamford, it was onlie to give yow notice of my aryavll there, and that the gelding I intended for yow wes so spoiled by untymelie ryding and evill keeping that I found him not fitt for your use. This day 4tnight I gave your Lop/ notice of all I could say from this. At present I think fitt to lett yow know that the papers of all transactions betwixt the Scottish commissioners and parliament of England,[a] are now in the the custodie of some who are verie confident that use may be maid of them in pursuance of the act of Billetting. I am told that it is intended to draw something from these papers to your prejudice, and that at next session of Parliament it is resolved to bring the busienes to a publique hearing. It is beleeved that Sir Johne Chiestie did give up these papers, butt I or no, I shall not be positive, he is now privatlie in

[a] 23118, f. 8. Mackenzie (p. 49) says that it was reported that Sir John Chieslie gave these papers to Middleton, that the latter handed them to Lauderdale upon their agreement in 1670, and that they were then burnt. But from 23118, f. 8, they appear to have been only copies, "unauthenticated doubles."

touwne, and as I am informed in verie great disquyet of mynd. Thrie weeks agoe I heard of a letter writtin by Thomas Sidserff intimating that E. Rothess should come doune commissioner next session of parliament; this is now more frequentlie reported, and some readie enough to make bad conclusions upon it. I wish that Mr. Sidserff wold be more sparing of his intelligence in things of the lyke concerne. For the workmen of the Citadale, I fynd that no less will satisfye them then full satisfaction, conforme to the certificats sygned by Mr. Tishan. They doe imploy some English from this who have interest with the Duke of Albermarle, his Secretarie Sir William Clerk is to be dealt with. Mr. Sharp hath beene with me, wee are againe returned to a good understanding of each other. It is now my sute to your Lo^{p}/ that what I formerlie wrote may not leave anie impression with yow to his prejudice; this I send by his means to yow, hopeing it will come saife. All of ws heir begin to long for news from Court, and that I may not be misled by a too easie beliefe of other peoples letters; be pleased to honor with your remembrance,

My noble Lord,
Your Lo^{ps}/ most humble and most faithfull servant,
BELLENDEN.

LXX.—WILLIAM SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

[23118, f. 8b.]

By the post which came to this place on Sabboth night, The Ch: had letters from the Com: giving ane accompt of his arryvall and reception; of what further I hear not, bot it is sayed that this morning he hes despatched ane express in return. This forenoon

the Lord Bell called me and told me he had acquainted my Mr that [his?] unfriends here had taken pains to procure from S. Jo: Chies copies of the books, which he, as Clerk,[a] had of the proceedings of the Scotts Comrs with the Englishe . . . . , and that for what concerns Mr. Red Nothing[b] hes been and is at the pains to extract it, and that now there is a big design amongst them, he is endeavouring to have a sight of them, and then sayes he shall give notice what he finds, and so soon as I know it what it shall be, my Mr shall be acquainted. It is sayed that tho the billeters may be disappoynted, yet Mr. Red his expectations may not be fullie satisfied; bot this is better knowen to him[self?]; wele may he manage this ticklish play and wele may he ever be.

LXXI.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 4.]

May it please your Lo/

Yesternight about 5 a clock I received your Lo/s of Jan. 4 by Major Arnot, and forthwith delivered the Inclosed in hand as directed, this to his Lady is in return. The other from my Lord Bellenden to your Lo/ doeth I hope in some measure clear me of any neglect of his Lo/, he wes not come to Scotland for some dayes after my receiving the copie of the kings letter from your Lo/. I owe more of dwetie to your Lo/ and obedience to your commands, wherein I trust never to be found wanting, then to hazard upon the undwetifull misdemeanour of neglecting any in whom my Master is pleased to be concerned, farr less my Lord Bellenden, whom upon my truth in all humilitie I beg to be beleeved I never in the least meant to injure in his honor, name, or interest, bot

[a] See Note [a], p. 81.

[b] See 23117, f. 98, and 23118, ff. 9 and 10.

upon the contrair in my mean capacitie wes ever readie to honor and serve his Lo/, and the more for your Lo/ sake as my bounden dwetie is. The caus of that dissatisfaction with me, which his Lo/ wes pleased to apprehend, tho I wes not in the least concerned, being now removed, I doubt not bot the effects of complainings and quarrellings will also cease, and if after the strictest examination I have been found to have done any thing contrarie to this my profession I declyne I complain of no punishment, &c., &c., &c.

W. Sharp.

Ed^r., Ja. 13, 1663[⅔].

LXXII.—

[23118, f. 9 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

This day he who complained of me to my m^r a called me and told me that now he had learned that these books and papers which in this way I wrote of by my last were carried from this by the Com^r at his last pairting from this, and that now he hes them with him, with . . . . intending to make all the use he can of them, and that in opposition to Sheldon is to represent the case of the charge to D^r Hart: What may be in this later I much doubt, bot as to the first sinc my last in a verie secret way I have caused trye what books or papers were deliverd by Chieslie to the Register, and under his hand he hes declared that the principall books and papers all of them were taken away by the English, and what he delivered now were onelie uncompared doubles and not all authentick copies, for he had none left him; he wes strictlie examined, bot had none to deliver, and what wes delivered were such books as most of them were written by John Doun his hand. I am in hope to have notice who this English

a Bellenden. See *ante*, 23118, ff. 3, 4.

officer who had that trunck full of these books and papers, and did take much in pains in reading of them: However of this it is thought fitt my m^r^ have notice. I hear that Weems wreats to one here, that there is great appearance of friendship, tho others say otherwayes, and it seems here that M^r^. Smith[a] his friends are not at present so high as formerlie.

LXXIII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 10.]

May it please your Lo/,

Yesternight about four a clock I received your lo/^s^ of the 23^d^, tho the express by which it wes sent came to this place about six a clock the night before. The letters were saflie given tho not tymouslie, bot I presume not to complain. All the inclosed I delivered saflie in hand as directed, which were verie welcome, bot most to him who complained of me to my M^r^; he wes much refreshed, and so farr as I see is truelie my M^rs^ friend. Presentlie after receipt of the express Nothing wes called and such others bot Mr. Red his friends not owned. Quyetness is all the news, and that which brakes out seems to speak that all are not pleased. However, Mr. Smith is at more pains then he hes been accustomed to before, in wreating many letters to some here, which want not pretensions to hope enough, so farr as I can hear. I acquainted Mr. Sheldon with what my Mr. commanded me by his last, bot have not heard from him since, he is expected here within few days, and then is to be redie for his jurney so farr as I yet know.

I hope ere now your lo/ hes accompt of the Shirrief clerk of Ross &c., &c., and as that of Dumfries shall be disposed of your lo/ shall be truelie acquainted by,

Your lo/ W. S.

[Thursday] Ja^y^ 29, 1663 [166¾.]

[a] Middleton.

LXXIV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 12.]

May it please your Lo/

The English officer who wes sayed to have taken pains about the reading and keeping of these papers I wrot of by two former letters is turned to be a Scotts shopkeeper at this place, who having found them in a cellar, made use even of the principalls as old cast papers for houshold business, which the pairtie concerned accidentallie discovering, asked how he came by them, and having notice where the rest of what wes not destroyed were, went to the place and found them not worthie any noticing, so he wreats there were none of the principals of any significance delivered to him, who examined him strictlie, neither hes he any of them, and is sure can never be made use of to any intent and purpose to the prejudice of any man. This I have endeavoured to be discovered without any observation of the concernment either of my informer or any supposed to be concerned therin, and is upon assurance of secrecie written with his own hand, who wes the then Clerk to that busines.

Here is nothing at present bot a silence. The meeting of the Clergie nixt week, whatever it may produce, will be better told then can be written by

Your Lo/ obedient servant,

W. Sharp.

Edr. [Saturday] Jan. 31, 1663 [6$\frac{2}{3}$].

LXXV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 33.]

May it please your Lo/,

This night about 9 aclock I had your Lo/ of the 21, and forthwith delivered in hand the inclosed, which vidi lectam et servi

gratissimam, after communication of a litle pairt of the inmeat with him to whom this box wes directed, he caried me home with him, and told me he had opened it before the Chancellour in his lodging and read to him that pairt of Mr. Reds which craved the extract of the Act, upon which he desired it might not be sent till he should see how it wes worded, bot he wes resolved now to send it, and so it being verie late and he waiting for his boy who had the book, I run home to wreat this and wait for its being sent to me as he promised. I have excused not wreating to B., to whom myn wes verie satisfieing, what by the last wes writt to him of Nothing is a verie sure I shall not say what a sad truth it may be, Remonstrances and sentences on them being out of date, bot it hes been a tyme of much saying, and when that of feeling comes, the fruit of saying will be best seen. It wes and so farr as can be as yet knowen is intended that that letter shall be a great bark if not a byt, bot it may come to scarce half a skip of a curr tyke. It is more sayed there is or may be that in wreat for things past which Mr. Red knowes not of, and therefore he should be more warie, bot this amongst other great shott may turn to be a pluff. Great are the expectations of many here, bot of all the Dr Read hes a better accompt from better hands then can be given by myne, bot whatever is knowen is not concealed by

Your Lo/

W. S.

Edr, Febr 26, 1663 [6⅔].

LXXVI.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 36 a.]

May it please your Lo/,

By the last I wrot in return to your Lo/ last to me, and by this have nothing to add, onlie here is a report that the parliament of

England have passed or intend to pass ane Act prohibiting the importation of any highland cattell into England. The money arysing by this trade hes been the most sure and considerable stock for the returns of money from this, and if it fail I shall be glade that by any other way the return of your Lo/ money may be at as easie rates. Bot whatever the parliament may please order in it, The result may be the ease of the importation of bend Leather into this countrey, and that is enough by his majesties licences, and if for cattell these come to be in use that your Lo/ may have preference is all the desire of

Your Lo/

W. S.

Ed[r]. Febr. 28, 1663.

LXXVII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23118, f. 36 b.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

B. desires me to acquaint my M[r] That by the last Nothing received a letter from Newburgh telling him that when the Com: wes putt to it to give a why for the stop of the proclamation [a] about the fynes; his first answere wes, that by letter sent to the councill here for this there was a latitude left to them to doe what they should see fitt. The Advo: [b] here is of the mynd the councill in cases may and should take that latitude, bot by the production of the letter there is found no latitude, bot a positive command; and therefore the nixt answere is, his Maj. Command intimat by the Chanc. of England; he being called sayes it wes so, and this what

[a] The order for this Proclamation was procured by Lauderdale's influence. It superseded the Act for Fining till further order. Middleton's high-handed attempt to evade it was the proximate cause of his fall.

[a] Sir J. Fletcher.

the Com: wrot wes upon warrant What truth may be in this my M^r best knowes; and with this I am bid acquaint him that he may make what use of it is fitt; bot this last box hes alarmed some and putt them now to second thoughts, and now some spare not to say they fear my M^r hes the better of it. So may it be, &c. &c.

If this extract be better worded then the last wes, my M^r will best know, &c. &c.

LXXVIII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 28.]

May it please your Lo/,

By this I humblie suppose that your Lo/ hes from better hands ane accompt of the condition of affaires here, my Lord President of the session having told me that by this my Lord Chancellour and himself were to wreat, bot they are of certaintie in the case of such peacable and dwetifull quyet as there is not the least shaddow of any ground for nois of stirring, some who would have stirring spare not to wreat and talk bot I hope they may miss their end. I spoke with a knowing person latelie come from these pairts, and assures there is nothing amongst people there bot all guyet and peace.

Mr. Haistie his coosin here did see the black man [a] at his hous, and upon assurance some freedom wes used he found him verie fair, and now almost persuaded to doubt of Mr. Smiths [b] return, and of his mynd in what by the last he wrot to my M^r and told him, he told not all, bot what he thought fitt and he agreed, he is still assaulted, and by some holden to it here, bot not to such purpose as formerlie, and the quorum is now fewer here, Mr. Smithes advise by the last it is sayed wes not to insist too much in justifica-

[a] ? [b] Middleton.

tion bot in all things to submitt to D[r] Hart. Mr. Smiths wife [a] stayes at her hous here awaiting orders, which contentedlie she professes she will obey. The person of Flisk [b] should in tyme considder of this. What Mr. Haistie hes by this from his friend here I offer not to repeat, not doubting bot my M[r] and he will compare notice, bot sure these and other such talkings of Nothings should be more noticed then they can be mentioned by

By this Mr. Smith hes a box, as my M[r] hes, with what I cannot yet learn.

May 16, 1663.

LXXIX.—William Sharp to Sir Robert Moray.[c]

(Much defaced by damp.)

[23119, f. 44.]

Hono[ll] Sir, Holyrudhous, June 18[th], 1663.

I have in command from my Lord by this to signifie to yow That this day the Parliament mett & after sermon preached by the Bishop of Aberdeen [d] upon the words 2 Chron. 19, 6. His Maj. Commissioner having intimat to the Parliat his Maj. Commands for election of the Lords of the articles according to the ancient [e] constitution, They did accordinglie proceed, The nobilitie elected eight of the clergie the Clergie eight of the nobilitie, the clergie & nobilitie eight of the Barrones & eight of the Burrowes, and this is

[a] Glencairn. [b] See 23119, f. 28, and 23120, f. 121.

[c] Lauderdale has come to Scotland to sift the Billeting matter, and secure the completion of Middleton's downfall. Moray's appointment as Deputy-Secretary during Lauderdale's absence is dated 1663, June 5.

[d] Alexander Burnet, a kinsman of Lord Rutherford, and chaplain to his regiment at Dunkirk (See *Camden Miscellany* for 1883, Lauderdale Letters, p. 20). Succeeded Fairford as Archbishop of Glasgow, 1664.

[e] Dating from 1633 only ; abolished in 1641. The Lords of the Articles possessed a negative voice as to measures coming before Parliament. This Constitution evidently placed all power in the class devoted to the Crown at that time. See 23119, f. 144, No. 11. See Burnet, sect. 115.

Recorded in the Register of Parliaṫ, *ad futuram rei memoriam.* The articles being apoynted to meet to morrow, the parliaṫ is adjourned till Tusday next. My Lord Crawfurd hes by this the names [of those] on the Articles. A more full accompt of . . . . affaires is intended by ane express from . . . . . The declaration [a] wes put & signed by all . . . . . present who had not formerlie signed it [except?] . . . [Naper?] who wes pleased to say he scrupled.

My Lord also . . . . . to desire yow may please excuse the . . . . . to his Lady, he will doe it more . . . . . not well, . . is . . . .

. . . . humble servant . . . .

LXXX.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 51.]

Halyrudehous the 23 June, 63.

* * * * *

This afternoone after the parl[t], The Coñissioner [b] called the Councell to dispatch busines referd by the last Councell day: First his Maj[ties] Letter concerning Archibald Johnston was red (for when it was presented last councell day it was delayed because the parl[t] was so neir). Then a petition from that wretehes children shewing that he hath lost his memorie & almost his sence, & praying for delay till he may be in a fitter condition to dye. Divers bore witnes that he is in a sad condition who have seen him, But the Councell wold not meddle in giving any respite, But appointed his Maj[ties] coñands by his letter to the councell to be reported to the Parl[t] who no doubt will give order for executing him according to his sentence of parl[t] already past.

* * * * *

[a] Mackenzie, p. 64. The Declaration was passed on Sept. 5, 1662. See p. 106, Note [b]. He was at this time completely under Lauderdale's influence.

[b] Rothes succeeded Middleton.

My Lo: Comissioner presents his service to yow, and comands me to let yow know that great brags are written dounne by this post. That his Majtie was never kinder to my Lord Middleton, that he sent for him to Councell & had busines to speake with him after, nay I know it is written that he hath a brave game yet to play. Let his Majtie know this, for such brags are spred onely to obstruct unity which should be in the Parlt, I know those mens brags sufficiently yet it is fitt the King know it. They are no better keepers of their owne secrets heir then they were at London, and they talke they will get a warrant from his Majtie to call up Tarbet, But I am sure the King will not doe that. Having appointed Billeting to be tryed, of which I hope his Majtie will get so good ane account as will let the world see more cleirly How both his Majties authority & his Parlt have been abused. I have showen this to my Lord Comissioner, who hath no more to adde: My service to all freinds; by the last I wrote to my Lord Ancram, I am much beholding to his kindenes, But I will say no more of it, For I trust to his Majties protection so long as I am innocent, He hath hitherto protected me & now I am sure he will not let me be bitt to death by a Duck. Goodnight.

LXXXI.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 54.]

25 Jun. 63.

There needs litle be said in answere to Mr. Sharpes of 18, seing I intend to answere fully yours of 20. The first thing the king said upon his opening your relation of what past in parlt was (& I premised to let you know it) that, if you write not upon better paper & with better pens, wee will have yow billetted again.[a] They

[a] The Editor owes a deep debt of gratitude to Charles II. for this hint, which Lauderdale took.

are his words, for the trueth is your paper not bearing ink well that part which is writ on both sides is uneasy to read. When he[a] had done reading he bid me carry your relation to S. H. Bennet, that so much of it might be printed in the diurnall as was fitt, which by this which is here inclosed you will find was done. When I carried it to the Secretary, he read it out with me, and mended but 2 words, which was, crowd, for which he put, throng (a narrow criticisme), and in stead of the good old way (of the articles) he hath put the auncient. I did not oppose, and was not displeased to hear him say that it concerned His M^ty^ to have the account of this passage of the Articles known, in regard his M. had ordered his Scottish affaires alone. I told him, that by what was done he might see that the very first thing done in this session of parl^t^ imported his service more than anything done heretofore. In regard that it was evident this constitution of parli^t^, differing somewhat from former practises, is so much to his M^ties^ advantages, that he & his successors must for ever hereafter be absolute in all Scottish par^lts^,[b] I left him to add such comments upon the thing, in the diurnall, as he thought fitt, but you see he hath added none, nor do I blame him for it, for mens reflections upon it will prompt to them all that could have been said. All I shall observe more in this is, that you are to considder, that as this first accounte is printed by his M^ties^ commaunde, so the rest will; therefore you may say every thing so in the relation of the dayly passages as may alwase be fit for the press; and for other things your other letters may have all.

* * * * *

The king read every word of your letter to me too, & you must make account he will always do so, for it is easy and pleasing to him; and there when you would say any thing he needs not know, put it in little billets apart. Your packet was with me on Wensday

[a] Afterwards Lord Arlington.

[b] See 23119, f. 44, *ante*.

before dinner, so we had it first, though the ordinary poste might have sent us the Thursdays letters before it, if diligence had been used, seeing now in summer they come on Tuesdays, though they be not distributed till wensdays at noon. I moved Mr. Secretary that nothing may be printed without his order of Scottish affaires, relying upon your promise of weekely accounts. Onely remember so to order your dispatches that they may alwase come as the last did, that is on wensday before dinner, so the thursdays diurnalls will alwayes have all that is fit to publish. John Hastie[a] remembers well that in the parl[t] 1633 it was the whole Noblemen that choosed the Barrons & Burroughs, so that whether this way now pitched upon be the old way exactly or no sure nothing ever was or can be devised more advantageous for the king than it. What you say further of this constitution was hinted to Mr. Secretary, but he saw not your letter to me ; your letter gives me ground for nothing more. I meddle not with transactions here in parl[t];[b] any body that reads Diurnalls knowes more than I, for I read not even those, but when anything comes to my knowledge that is fit to write, I will if none else does. I repeat nothing of what any of my former bore, for I doe not apprehend miscarrying. * *

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LXXXII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 59.]

Halyrudehous, the 27 June, 1663.

Since my last on Twesday I had nothing to say worth his Maj[ties] trouble, and therfor I onely appointed Will Sharp to let yow know

[a] Crawford, cf. *ante*, 23119, f. 44.

[b] One of the numerous indications that at this time Lauderdale, Moray, and the Scotch generally, kept entirely aloof from English public affairs.

that in obedience to the reference of the Parl^{t} the Lords of the Articles met on Wedensday & resolved after mature deliberation that the tryall [a] appointed by his Maj^{ties} setter) should be taken by a comission out of the members of the articles. Some moved that the tryall might have been taken by the whole articles. But that was rejected becaus first that cours wold have delayed all the other proceedings in Parl^{t}, for if all the articles had imployed themselvs in the examination, then they could not prepare the other publick busines for the Parl^{t}, And 2^{dly} such a tryall could never be so exactly taken by 40 men as by a few. So, with little contradiction, It was resolved to report it to the Parl^{t}, as the opinion of the articles, That a Comission should be given by the Parl^{t} for exact tryall of the things containd in his Maj^{ties} Letter for vindicating both the king & Parlt^{t} as to Billeting & for discoverie of the contrivance & carying on of that busines. On Thursday the Comission was drawen & agreed on by the articles to be reported to the Parl^{t}. And the reason why it was resolved that the Comission should flow from the Parl^{t} was becaus it was absolutely necessary to examine divers members of Parl^{t}, without which It was impossible to finde out the treuth. In the meane time the E. of Dumfreis [b] was very busie in making a caball, severall meetings kept at the same Tavern where the billets were hatched. And that which raised their confidence was the arrivall of the E. of Middletons servant Ogilbie, who broght from his master severall letters to the few freinds he hath in this place: and great brags were given out of the great favors he had lately from his Maj^{tie}, That the King had sent Mr. Secretarie Bermet to my Lo: Middleton to invite him to the Councell, That he at first excused himself, but the king sent againe, & wold not want his companie, That he had been much in privat with the king, & that he was never more in favor. This was in-

[a] Into the Billeting affair.

[b] Descendant of the Lord Sanquhar, hung in 1612, June 29, for the murder of a fencing-master who had accidentally put out one of his eyes.

dustriously dispersed to make a partie. And I know certainly in his letter to his wife [a] he writt enough of the kings favor to him. (This yow may confidently shew to his Maj^tie under my hand.) My Lord Coñissioner knew exactly their meetings, & wold take no notice of it. But resolved to bring the report of the articles to the Parl^t at their very first sitting, which was done yesterday. The report from the articles was made by my Lord Chancellar, and to the end the Parl^t might see that the draught of the Coñission was most exactly according to the Letter. His Maj^ties Letter [b] was againe red, & then the Coñission. Not a word was offerd against the Coñission. But a delay was often & earnestly prest by Dumfreis. His motion was sufficiently ansuered, but at last delay was urged by five or six of them, and being debated it was put to the question and most cleirly caried in the negative. Then the Coñission itself was taken into consideration: And after that the Legality & justice of it had been cleirly opened by the most learned in the Law & Practise of Scotland, and after a very little debate where nothing like reason was offerd agaïst the Coñission It was put to the Question whither the Parl^t did approve the Comission or no: And heir the greatnes of the E. of Middletons so much magnified interest in this Parl^t did appeare, for of 52 Noblemen, 9 bishops, & a very full meiting as ever I saw of barrons and burroughs, The E. of Dumfreis had just eleven to follow his No. So the Coñission was approven. My Lo: Coñissioner according to his undoubted priviledg named the six. Then were some privat reports from the Articles agreed to, and so the Parl^t adjorned till wedensday: The Coñission appointed to meet on monday and the Articles on twesday. After the first meeting for regulating their proceedings The Coñission will meet daily, & I hope shall give a good account of their proceedings. Heir I send yow the just copie

[a] Glencairn. See 23119, f. 28.

[b] Expressing his displeasure at the Billeting Act. Mackenzie, p. 117.

of the Coñission under my Lo: Registers hand to be humbly presented to his Maj^tie^ I dare not presume to write to him againe till I have more to say. But he may be persuaded that never Parl^t^ was more ready to give entire obedience to a Kings coñand then this is at this time. Adieu.

LXXXIII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 61.]

30 June, 1663.

* * * * *

I have now to tell yow that the king read all your letter, and you may expect he shall do so with all the rest, for he leaves all other things to do it, as soon as they are presented to him, except it be his dinner. I stood near him when he read it; when he had done he told me, it was indeed but brags that was writt from hence of his kindness to the person you mentioned & of his expectations: and to a word I interiected he answered that he did not so much as send for him to Councel; but a friend of his having askt if he might not come to Councel, he said why not ? which I understand to have been but a slender invitation. I said his M^y^ could do no less, and as to the sending for the other person[a] up hither, he neither had done it nor would by any meanes do it: so you see still they keep the old strain. He added withall, after my having told him that his business there is now all his own molding, & he hath it as (duly ?) in his hand to order as he pleaseth, that he would have Scotland united, and you may reckon upon it. This I think will serve you for an account of that conversation. More he did not adde nor hath he charged me with anything else to say: and indeed you have no cause from thence. It occurres now to tell you, that I am affrayed you may have missed the right reading of that passage

[a] Newburgh.

of one of my former which spoke of the printing of the King's letter about billeting, seing you could not read the other things in cypher as well as it. Therefore I now repeat to you, though perhaps it be too late, that he said, when it was askt if he thought fit it should be printed, with all his heart. So that I want not cause to expect to receive it in print with your next. Say all you can devise of my kindness to my L. Commissioner, I defy you, onely he does not expect I should take him and you for 2 things: and therefore will be pleased I write onely to one of you to avoide needless labor, but whensoever he writes to me he may look for the honor of an answere. Yesternight my L. Ancram,[a] and I talkt a great while: I imparted all matters fully to him, and he told me he would write to you fully evry thing that falls within his province. Here you have the Battell that hath saved portugall for one year.[b] But the French think, & not without reason, they have much contributed to it by holding the Pope in the halfe (?) as if they meant to invade Italy, by which meanes the King of Spain kept 5 or 6000 men in Milan, which were designed for the portugall warr. That this was the main designe of the delaying the agreement with the pope, I learnt this day from M. de Ruvigni,[c] who told me it was proposed and carried on by Mr. de Turraine. This is all occurres. Adieu.

LXXXIV.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 62.]

Halyrudehous, 2 July, 1663.

Yours by my Lord Dumfermelines man of the 26 June came hither on Monday at night, and it was no small joy to my Lord

[a] A dependent of Lauderdale, and member of the House of Commons.

[b] Count Schomberg, with English help, defeated Don John of Austria. Two years later the battle of Villaviciosa finally secured the independence of Portugal.

[c] French Ambassador in London.

Comissioner and me to finde his majesties so gratious acceptance of the heartie indeavours of his servants to serv him in his owne way, which shall, god willing, be the rule of all our actions.

On Saterday you had a full account of the proceedings in parliament on fryday last; I sent you a copie of the commission which the parliament hath given in pursuance of his Maj^ties^ commands by his 2^nd^ letter. I told you freely the fidling opposition was made, and yet how ready the parl^t^ was to put that busines into a right way of examination; But now I must tell you the opposers have been industrious to be the first informers. For I finde they have dispatched a servant of the E. of Middletons. They sent him on horsback to pass the first two stages and then to take post, and your last expres met him on Sunday night on this side Newcastle.[a] If he tell treuth I have no cause to apprehend his being the first informer. And whatever informations he carie, I know his Maj^ties^ eminent justice and goodnes too well to doubt his hearing first those he hath been gratiously pleased to imploy, before he take any resolution in busines depending in his parliament. Yet I must tell you, to the end the King may know it, They doe so much apprehend a cleir discovery of the abuses put upon his Ma^tie^, and on the reputation of his parl^t^, that they doe confidently give it out here that a command will come from his Maj^tie^ to stop any further examination in this busines, that the King will send for Tarbet, and that my Lo. Middleton hath fully satisfied his Maj^tie^ as to that affaire. By this meanes they hope to keep up their pittifull partie and to keep men from telling treuth. And, although as I have said we know too well his Ma^ties^ justice to apprehend that he will any wayes stop this examination, which I hope shall so cleirly justifie his Maj^ties^ late proceedings, and let the world see how his Maj^ties^ authority and his name hath been abused in contryving and carying on that scandalous busines of billeting, Yet my Lord

[a] See the skilful use made by Moray of this information, 23119, f. 67.

Commissioner commanded me by you to let his Majtie know their desires, who we hope will in his wisdome take such a cours as may prevent it. On Monday the commission met and resolved on the way of their proceeding. By the Lo. Commissioners approbation we tooke ane oath of secrecie, to conceale the examinations from every bodie except my Lo. Commissioner, untill we be readie to make a report, first to the articles, from whence it wilbe transmitted to the parlt, And by them to his Majtie who is to declare his Royall pleasure before any thing be done. So seeing all that is intended is but to finde out treuth, to acquaint his Majtie with it, and to move not one step further without his expres command, I am most confident his Majtie will not interrupt that which so much concerns his service. On Tuesday also the reference of his Majties letter concerning Archibald Johnston was from the councell reported to the Articles, and it was appointed that the Kings letter and the sentence of forfaulture should be reported to the parlt to the end they might give order for the time of his execution. Yesterday the parlt met, and by my Lord Commissioners order that busines was first reported; his Majties letter to the councell was first red, which does require that he be proceeded with accordiug to Law and Justice. Then his sentence of forfalture was red, and report was made that the Articles humbly referd it to the parlt to appoint the time of execution. Then was a petition red from the relations of the prisoner, humbling acknowledging the just sentence of the parlt and begging delay of the execution, because of the prisoners distemper in judgment and loss of memorie. This petition had been layd aside by the articles, and therfor it was addrest to the parlt and accompanied with a certificat under the hands of foure physitians, testifying him to be melancholicum delirantem. Then did the Earl of Dumfries and some other billeters begin a debate to refere back to the articles; but when that was cleirly answered, that the constant practise had ever been for the parliament itself to discuss all processes and to appoint

execution, so that the Articles had done their duty; then they appeared for a delay: after some debate it came to a question, whether presently or delay, and it was cleirly carried that the parl[t] should fall upon the business presentlie. Most of our dissenters were for delay (you may easily guess upon what account). Divers meirly out of compassion voted for delay; but I confess, thogh I thinke I be as farr from a cruell disposition as any bodie, yet, considering the justice of the sentence, and that if it had come to a delay it must have broght the trouble of it to his Maj[tie], who onely can grant pardon (for sure no such power is in the parl[t]), considering also, that if his Maj[tie] had been disposed to pardon he wold never have sent for him to France,[a] nor sent him to Scotland, I did cleirly vote presently, and no considerable number were for delay. In the next place the parl[t] found that by former precedents, where sentences were pronounced upon absents, the prisoner behoved to be broght to heare his sentence and to be asked if he had anything to say against execution of it. Accordingly the prisoner was broght in; he was commanded to kneel at the hearing his sentence, which he did, and I must confess I never saw so miserable a spectacle.[b] I have often heard of a man feared out of his wits, but never saw it before: yet, what he said was sence good enough, but he roared and cryed and exprest more feare then ever I saw. He begd to see the sentence before he should speake as to the execution; so he was removed and the parl[t] appointed to give it him and withal commanded him not to offer anything against it which is already ane act of parl[t], but that he should appeare at the next setting of the parl[t] and then he should be heard as to the execution. It will be hard to billet me for this wicked inke,[c] for this place affords no better for fine paper. Adieu.

For Sir Robert Moray.

[a] He was kidnapped in France. See Burnet, i. sect. 198.

[b] It is asserted, probably without foundation, that means had been taken to destroy his faculties by drugs.

[c] See *ante*, 23119, f. 54.

LXXXV.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 67.]

Whitehall, 3 Jul. 63.

The King hath this morning told me the whole discourse past yesterday morning when he and Newburgh were in the closet with him. I gave him occasion by telling him I had heard there was an express come to Middleton, and that there was a letter writ to his Majesty by some lords and others, who did in parliament oppose the examining the matter of the Billeting (whereof I named such as W. S. had told me), but the king having seen no such letter, either it is not at all or is suppressed. Thereupon his M. (being in his closet) rose and told me, my L. Midd. had said to him, that he found he was to be challenged for the matter of Billeting, but that it would be found he had charged himself more than he needed. The king answered that he knew nothing of challenging him, viz. Mid., but that he thought fit the business should be examined, that both he may know whence the contrivance of it proceeded and himself may be justified to the world both as to that and what he hath done upon it; but that he is sure he is master of the thing, for whatever be found he will be advertised of all and then can do what he thinks fit. (Here I hinted that this bore a tacit reproach to those who managed his greatest affairs without his knowledge, and added that it was not amiss they had given his Majesty first notice of what had past in parliament concerning the billeting, seeing it looked like handsome in you that anticipate not till you may give a fuller account than it seems could be done last week.) Newburgh said that Sir George Mackenzie had more laid upon him than he thought there was cause for, whereupon the King related what had past in the councel at Hampton Court.

Here the receipt of the packet of 27 June, superscribed Rothes, interrupted me so that now I am set again at 4 in the afternoon and will go on where I left and then say what falls next in course.

The King related to Middleton and Newburgh what past in councel at Hampton Court in the very termes his letter bears it, and again insisted on the reasonableness of his resolution to have the business sought out to the bottom and so stopt their mouths. Hereupon I took occasion to represent to him how much right he had done himself in the conduct and performance of the resolution he had taken in this whole business; which I did fully enough and need not repeat to you. Then he told me what he said he had not told before, that he had one argument besides the other known ones that made it clear the whole billeting matter was a laid design, which was that, Crafurds place being in their eye as well as yours, they were less solicitous to have him one of the twelve, because they knew the signing of the declaration would do his turn,[a] and then they had room to insert another instead of him, to be one of the 12. But you will not expect from me every thing that past between his Majesty and me in I think I may say near half an hours conversation upon this chapter. This will suffise and the most materiall part of it. Onely I shall add that he said he thought the business would fall heavily upon Tarbet, to which I assented, yet said he is still master of all, seeing no step will be advanced without his privity and direction, and then he said something of his abilities, excepting his moralls, and that led me into a larger description of him and myself and of what might have been an accessary occasion of my being billeted, all which you know well enough. And so here I cum to the letters from Tangier[b] which I herewith send you. I carried my Lord Teviots letters to the King to Sir H. Bennet to deliver, for he desired I might deliver them to you or him, &c. &c. &c. &c. I then spoke of settling a body of Scots there, but that is not very lyke to take unless it may be done without heightening charges. I said many things to make it take.

[a] Cf. 23117, ff. 79, 80, 81. This accounted for Crawfurd being 'delivered.' See Mackenzie's *Memoirs*.

[b] See *Camden Miscellany* for 1883.

It were good you would do so too. Now to the packet received about eleven o'clock. Assoon as I had read over all you sent me, I waited on the King, and in the Queen's Bedchamber read your letter to him (which by the way is of so sinking paper that it is worse than the first, which pray mend by good pens and good ink, if you can get no better paper), to which he was attentive and did himself read the names of the negatives, upon the number wherof an observation was made that it is just as many as was billeted. The Commission was too long to read between prayers and dinner, onely I told him that it was conforme to his letter and mean to say more of it to-morrow morning. But still I find you neither have printed his letter, though I told you long ago he would have it done, with all his heart, nor say any thing of it, whereas I assure you it would satisfy a world of people and conduce much to his Majesties advantage and yours who serve him faithfully there, nor do I yet resolve to advise him to caus print it here till it be first printed there. Onely I think I shall ask his own judgement and resolution in the point, but I still expect to hear from you by an express before to-morrow night, and if by it we get the letter in print it will be seasonable enough to take resolution then, before Monday that the diurnall comes out. On Sundays my Lord Crafurd and I and sometimes your Uncle[a] dine at Highgate and come home at night. Say fine things for me to my Lord Commissioner. Adieu.

LXXXVI.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 69.]

Deare Robin, [*circ.* 5 July, 1663.]

No dogg leads so buse a life. Torment of visitors in crowds, not companies; and incessant meetings. No sleep nor time to write

[a] Dunfermline.

and nothing like recreation, makes me a very slave. For gods sake excuse my wryting to no bodie, especially to my Lord Ancram and D^r^ Fraser. Tell the last I have done him some service in a process which he will winne against one Innes, and he is beholding to the honest president. Assoone as we have 2 hours time our expres shall be sent, and beg honest Crafurds pardon till then; God knows we cannot help it. Say the same to Dunfermeline. It is now past one, so I must be at my Lord Crafurds mercie for not wryting. Heir is nothing to be printed in my long letter. It is impossible for me to write for new bookes, Take out what you thinke fitt. I am perfitely dazed. Adieu.

LXXXVII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 76.]

8 Jul. 63.

Yesterday by the express packet I said all I had to say. Now I shall adde what this day hath produced. The King comes not till Monday night or Tuesday to dinner, that uncertainty is one argument that moved me not to think of going to him, but another is the unfitness to offer to entertain him about the business of the last dispatch from thence at a start, and when as you know hee will not, probably, be in humor for it. Many of the things I have to say to him may be done by peeces: but the main one I would not willingly enter upon, but upon his own assignement, and an assurance of a pretty large time without interruption. I am now pretty well prepared. I could tell now the methode I mean to take, but it will do better to say it when I have done than before, because emergencies may alter it. Onely in few I intend first to read to him all that is to be read; then speak to the main matter and

others as they follow in the order set me, and last to press positive resolutions on every particular, at fit occasions. Once in my life I must try your patience with ridiculous stories, but it is as much to fill up paper as for any other purpose. This day I dined with 2 friends at an old ladies house 5 or 6 mile off, where Healths were not forgot: there I learnt that there about people talk what now I finde is endeavoured to be spread all over the Town, that the Parl[t] of Scotland is broke up in great confusion, after swords drawing in the house, and all the Noblemen gone home: that the affaires of the church are in the terriblest confusion in the world; & to crown the story, my L. Commissioner & you are fallne out. Now wonder what less than a Bedlam or Fury could broach such wicked chimeras. Wee easily pacified the noise was made where wee dined: and some friends that know the madness of the slander have composed others here. One thing of moment let me hint to you now, because it occurres if places in Councel & Excheker be to be made voide, the expedient for doing it may possibly be the renewing of the commissions of Counc. & Excheker, and then divers that are now in both may be left out, & others put in. I say this now that if his M[ty] think it fit to renew the commissions you may be ready to give opinion of names when the K. demaunds it. And in the mean time let me have your thoughts of the thing which you will understand well enough without further amplification. My Lady will needs have us to Highgate[a] to morrow. Your uncle talks of haste but makes litle, though he be persecuted for it as often as we meet. Adieu.

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[a] Lauderdale's residence.

LXXXVIII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23113, f. 78.]

Halyrudehous, 9 July, 1663.

* * * * *

Now as to your 2d letter of the 4th, yow tell me of Middleton and Newbroughs applications to his Majtie in relation to the examining Billeting: This I did more rationally expect upon the arrivall of their expres then the other storie of the accompts, yet, what they said that they found Midleton is to be challenged in Parlt for billeting hath no more treuth in it nor colour of truth then the other storie of the accompts: For yow see the Comission is onely to examine & finde out treuth & to report, and I dare boldly & most truely say the Parlt will not move one step further till they receave his Majties comand, to whom all wilbe faithfully reported & his Royall comands punctually obeyd. But blest be God his Majtie is so very just & gratious that such stories & tricks gaine nothing upon him to the prejudice of his servants who are labouring to serv him with all faithfullnes in his owne way, & for his being so just & gratious to us in this particular alsoe we can but returne our most humble thankes. This is all I can yet say in answer to yor 2 letters. The narrative of our proceedings yow shall have on another sheet to morrow morning. Adieu.

LXXXIX.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 79.]

Halyrudehous, 9 July, very late.

Knowing of this bearer I could not neglect wryting by him: He is dispatched upon the account of yesterdayes sentence in Parlt for the execution of Arch: Johnston, & is sent by the neir relations

of the prisoner. They earnestly prest both my Lord Comissioner & me to have interposed with his Majtie for a longer reprive, But we durst not offer anything to his Majtie, nor wold I promise to write so much as to yow in that business: Yet I must needs tell yow something there was of cōpassion in the Parlt when they granted fourteen dayes time for the prisoner to prepare himself to dye. And when the sentence was pronounced, his cariage pleaded much better then any thing I could have expected. For he receaved the sentence to be hanged & to have his head affixed, with much more composedness of spirit than I did expect. He sate on his knees according to the custome, And then prayed God to bless the King, to bless the Parlt, to keep every one from his condition, and againe he prayed for the King, for the Church & for the kingdome & without one word for himself he went out. Discretion & duety not to offer any thing to his Majtie in such a case makes me that I will say no more. What is to be said in other publick busines you will receave in a few houres after this comes to yor hands. It is now very late, & I am more then very weary all this day. Yor other letter is begunne, & I will shutt up doore & window to-morrow morning till it be ended & the bearer dispatched, & so good night.

XC.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 80.]

9 July, 63.

Your last long letter was presented to the king assoon as I had the opportunity to do it, & he read it every word, as he useth to do. I am now set to write in answere to it & the other before I ask what particular commaunds he hath for me, because he is at Hunting & will perhaps not be home till it bee too late to begin. Yow have indeed no cause to be affrayed of any bodyes informations.

(Here being told, the king comes, I left, and went to him, and, having askt him if he had anything to command me to write to Scotland, he told me he hath no particular, but bid me say he is very well pleased with all my L. Com̄ & you do.) This parenthesis iustiffes what I said immediately before it; but I have to ad, that as he was reading that part of your letter where it speakes of your having no cause to apprehend informations if they be but trueths,[a] he said, you have indeed no cause, and gave me leave to say of his steadiness that he is as firme as the Bass. He said further that he had been informed of nothing upon the coming of that bearer: that is, as I understood it, of moment or wherein you were concerned, for one of my former acquainted you with some particulars which occurre not to me now. And as to the talk of stopping the examination by the king's order the satisfaction he hath received from M. in the matter of the Billeting & his resolution to call up T. all is false & will never be true. This you may be as confident of as of anything you know: for he hath again said it! I once again minde you of printing the king's 2nd letter, which I cannot guess why it is not done ere now unless it be kept up till there be more of the billeting matter to be publisht with it, which is as lyke to make them gaget as anything I know; but still the letter alone if I be not mistaken would do well; but I submitt all to the resolutions you take there as being able to take far better measures than I can think of. As to the matter of that wretched creature [b] I finde no disposition at all in the king to set any kinde of limit to the course of iustice therein, as not rellishing at all anything that is alleaged for it and as to what is in print of it. Hee is pleased with it as it is, as being sparing in laying weight upon some people who will perhaps be loaded enough another way: and leaving at least till a fitter time what concernes the condition of the prisoner & his strange deportments in the house. This is all I have to say upon your

[a] See *ante*, 23119, f. 62.

[b] Waristoun.

letter, onely never fear the length of your letters make them thought tedious, seing I finde the king reads them with care & satisfaction: and indeed I conceive he thinkes himself more than ordinarily concerned that things go well there, seing, as you know, the whole business in more wayes than one his own.

Now as to your other letter I can easily figure to myself the troublesomeness of my L. Coñ^{rs} condition & your own, and I assure you do very much compassionate it. But the encouragements you have to support you are the import of the things you have in hand both to King country, & all I can say ought to be valued; the satisfaction your master receives in your actings; and to omitt others the shortness of the duration of it. Therefore macte.

XCI.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 82.]

Halyrudehous, the 10 July, 1663.

As ane addition to yesternights letter, I shall heir presume to offer by yow to his Maj^{tie} ane account of his publick affaires heir. Mine of the 2^{d} told yow what past in the former meeting of the parl^{t}; since that time we have had divers meitings with the Lords of the clergie in order to the putting to execution the Lawes made in the former sessions of Parl^{t}, concerning Church affaires and such further additions as should be found necessarie. We finde the lawes full as to the restoring Bishops, & as to the putting out such ministers who (having comd in since the yeer 1649,[a] without presentation, which is the legal title) should not take presentations & satisfie their ordinary: But we finde them very deficient in other things, especially their having been no course taken to oblige refractorie gentlemen & people to outward obedience in coming to

[a] When lay patronage was abolished.

church & countenancing ministers who are put in, nor no penalties imposed for that pūrpos. This evill is onely considerable in the Western shires, where so many Remonstrators were, & where there was so great disaffection even when the King was in Scotland. My Lo. Middletons journey[a] into those parts (which was the pretence of his not coming last yeer) was onely a flanting and a feasting journey, many ministers were put out in those parts, but no further done. To remedie this evill was the matter of much consultation: most of the noblemen in the west are very well affected to the Kings service & the established Church government; I need not tell yow my Lo: Chancellar is so, but I must beare witnes, no men alive can be more forward then the Duke of Hamilton & E. of Eglington. After serious deliberation we agreed in privat upon ane act more full & more effectuall then any formerly, it was yesterday perfited & unanimously agreed in the Articles, and this day it is to be broght to the parl^{t}. When it is past ane expres shalbe sent with it to his Maj^{tie}, who I hope shall by it see we will not faile in the trust he puts in us as to Church affaires, but that our indeavors shalbe more effectuall then any have been yet used. According to former order, Arch: Jhonston was broght in to heare what he could say against execution. He did crying reade out of a paper. That his memorie was lost, that he rememberd neither matter of law nor matter of fact, nor a word of the bible. And begd time that ministers & physitians might prepare him to dye, this he often repeated, & was removed. Some compassion did appeare, but not a word against execution of so just a sentence. Some moved for a moneth, some for a fortnight. So it was put to the question. The first that voted for a moneth was the E. of Morton, but it was caried that he should be hanged that day fortnight, & his head affixed to the nether bow. This he receaved on his knees with more temper then I expected. He prayed for

[a] Burnet, i. sect. 154.

the King, for the parl[t], for the Church, & the Kingdome, & so went out. My Lo: Comissioner & I were much importuned to move his Maj[tie] for a longer reprive, But we flatly refused to trouble his Maj[tie] about it: as I told yow in another letter last night. The comission for examinations takes up all my time which I can spare from other publick meetings, of which I hope next week we shalbe ready to dispatch a good account. Heer is not much worth his Maj[ties] trouble & less to be made publick, yet till the nixt I have no more to say, nor will I trouble his Maj[tie] with wryting to himself. He knowes my heart, and I know what a torment it is for me to be so long from him. Adieu.

XCII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 83.]

Deare Robin, 10 July.

Receave my good Lo: Teviots letter, yow will doe all can be, for I have no time now to write to his Maj[tie] but I shall Godwilling by the next. If yow be to write to him before mine come excuse me to him & to all freinds at London for my not wryting, God knowes the tormenting toyle I live in heir. Yesternight Mr. Burnet[a] forced me to write 3 or 4 insignificant lines about Ar: Jhonston to yow, but I would not move the king on no terms considering that his Maj[tie] causd take him in France & send him hither. The delay that was given him was onely upon the clamor of his distemper & to prepare him to dye. I voted for the shortest time. Yow will I thinke be as shy as I am in moving his Maj[tie] in the matter. All that was possible is done for Dunfermline.[b] Hast

[a] The historian.

[b] One of the Scotch Commissioners to London in 1639 and 1640, and Commissioner for Treaty of Ripon. High Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1642. At the Restoration he was made a Privy Councillor; Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1669, and Privy Seal in 1671. Died in 1673.

him doune as to his owne affaires. Send with him my little octavo hebrew bible without points which lyes in my little closet at Whitehall, and send well packt up in cotton in a pacquet box the little glasses of spirit of roses which yow will finde in the middle drawer of my walnut tree cabinet. Speake to my Lord Ashley (with my humble service) about my yeers pension which was dew at Midsomer, and if any be gott let my wife have it. Adieu.

XCIII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 88.]

Halyrudehous, 14 July, 1663.

* * * *

My Lord Comissioner will send you the act concerning the Church,[a] which after some debate as to the forme passed most unanimously. I need say no more about it then I wrote by John Ker on fryday last. If yow looke to the end of it yow will see the penalties calculated for our western dissenters (thogh the word papist be put in of course to beare them company), and it is hoped the penalties will be stronger arguments to move then to outward conformitie then any divines could use. This day at councell according to former resolution, half a dozen of those preachers are summoned against next Councell day for preaching in contempt of the former acts. Mr. Ja: Wood is also summoned, & yow may be assured obedience wilbe required & exacted to the lawes. I have told yow how unanimously the act past without one positive no. What I said upon that ocoasion the king himself hath under my hand; the Bishops in a body gave me a solemne visite about it, And one of them said aloud That what I had said wold get them more obedience then the act. This I had not the vanity to tell the

[a] See 23119, f. 101.

king, nor doe I desire yow should. Some private acts past, & a report was made of ane order from the Articles for recõmitting of Asson,[a] who stands charged with betrayīg the M. of Montrose. His process will now goe on, And I shalbe carefull of what yow told me was the kings pleasure concerning S. Norman M^c^Cloud if he be forfalted. Onely by the way marke, my Lo: Middleton in parl^t^ gave him his liberty upon baile, and this parl^t^ hath secured him againe, for which my Lo: Montrose gave thankes. My Lo: Cõmissioner sends yow the unanimous answer of the Lords of Session to my Lady Weems paper. I am so deadly weary I can say no more. Excuse me to all freinds, especially Mr. Secretary Bennet. Adieu,

yet turne.

f. 88 b.

I had almost forgot to tell yow that from severall hands I had informations that it is talked at London that I spoke impertinently of my Lo: D. of Albemarle, and that we are heir indeavoring a charge against my Lo: Chancellar of England. These are damnd insipid lyes. If lyars will needs lye why doe they not colour them better ? This I thoght enough to have said; but this day S. Arthur Forbes tells me M^c^Nauchton told him that the D. of Albemarle is informed I should have said that I wold breake his neck. Now for oght I know M^c^Naughton made it (for he is good at the trade), sure I am it is as fals as the devill. If yow thinke it worth the while tell the king this, & know if yow shall say it to my Lord Duke. I have recõmended my Lo: Teviots busines[b] to his M^tie^; yow may shew him my letter from Tangier. As for the printing the king's letter, it is now too late; it was seasonable at first, but then I knew not his M^ties^ pleasure. Strong weariness makes me end abruptly.

[a] See Burnet, i. sect. 127. Neill McLeod of Assint.

[b] See Teviot's Letters, *Camden Miscellany* for 1883.

XCIV.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 91.]

16 July, 63.

This is lyke to be the shortest I have writt to yow since you parted; for I have litle to say to you & many letters to write. Ther was nothing to be done in Waristons matter. The King said to me he would not meddle with him, but let justice have its course, and after that you know there was nothing to be said. On Tuesday when my L. Bristol was winding up all he had to say till next session of Parl[t] in the business he hath undertaken against my L. Chancelor, demaunded a commission to examine the D. of Ormond & you, which you refused. If you value it much you deceive us all here, yet you will easily observe what it drives at, & what constructions are made of it. The King, Duke, & Prince[a] laugh at it. The last askt me how you are, & I told him well, & that I would tell you he enquired after you. You know the Duke hath a sonne.[b] The Capt. of Clanronnald is going to yow, & would fain have me desire you to dispatch him. I think you will not be long of advising. Adieu.

The last Box brought your Heb. bible and your spectacles, as this does your litle Bottles.

XCV.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 93.]

Halyrudehous, 18 July, 1663.

* * * * *

Then a report was made from the articles of great complaint of greivous exactions on severall shires for those bygone maintenance

[a] Rupert.

[b] Who died shortly after birth.

which the last session of parl^{t} appointed to be raised for the E. of Middleton & some others. And in Parl^{t} the complaints were appointed to be broght in to the articles where the Collectors are appointed to answer. It is not at all intended to hinder the Collecting of those summes & applying them as the last act appointed: but care wilbe taken that under that pretence the countrey be not abused beyond the meaning of that act. And this is a short account of our proceedings this weeke, which tooke up time enough thogh it be soone told, and wold have taken thrice as much time in any other constitution of a Parl^{t}. My Lord Comissioner adjorned the articles till twesday at two a clock & the Parl^{t} till Twesday at foure, at which time I hope the beginning of the report of billeting shalbe ready. Now I come to answer yo^{r} letter of the 14 July. That is to say, to tell yow I have receaved it, for there is nothing requires answer. His Maj^{ties} justice in not beleiving those damned insipide lyes of my talking so impertinently of my Lo: Chancellar & D. of Albemarle is no news to me, But that I should have foretold my L. Bristolls charge is a new lye that I did not expect. Oh will they never learne to lye with more colour at least! Truely I am no witch, nor doe I thinke the Devill is such an asse as to have suggested to a witch to guess that a rationall man wold give in such a charge. I am not yet so great a freind to Billeting, as to be on the knowledg or councell of impeaching his Maj^{ties} officers of state, And I thinke it ane unpardonable presumption in any man to accuse the meanest person imployed by his Maj^{tie} without the King's allowance. Especially on things reflecting on his Maj^{tie} as this wilde paper does. But I might hope the boldest & most impudent lyer could not suggest me accessorie to my Lo: Bristoll's paper seing the advising the removall of English garrisons [a] & demolishing those badges of our slavery is by it made treason. For thogh they may have the impudence to question my duety to my Master, yet

[a] Which Lauderdale had earnestly pressed.

no rationall man will beleiv me so little a Scot as to be consenting to a paper with that into it. But why should I trouble my self with answering such senceles stories. My Lo: Coñissioner remembers him most kindely to yow & is now by me. And so good night. After midnight.

XCVI.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 99.]

Halyrudehous, the 21 July, 1663.

* * * * *

Tomorrow is the execution of Arch: Johnston at the cross, which hinders all meetings. Thursday is peremptorily a Councell day for those ministers who are cited for disobedience to former acts; and against fryday we will be ready I hope to report the depositions.

Now, in answer to your short letter of the 16, that motion for examining the D. of Ormond & me is as wilde as the charge. Sure my Lo: Bristoll may remember the House of peers hath no power to examine in Scotland; we will submitt to no examinations but what flow from the kings cõmand. And althogh when I am in England I know & shall pay all duety to that House, yet their cõmands reach not hither. And if I were in England, Though I could depone (as indeed I know nothing in that charge), yet it were not possible to make me depone against the meanest servant, much less against the kings Chancellar without his Maj^{ties} knowledg & his warrant. Now I have wearied yow & my self, & if his Maj^{tie} have patience to reade this, I doubt he shall be the weariest of the three. Adieu. Past midnight.

XCVII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 101.]

21 Jul. 63.

The King, as you will finde from himself, is exceedingly pleased with the Act,[a] & with your speech, insomuch that he hath commaunded me to draw out the heads of both to be printed. The whole Act is not to be printed here, till you send it up printed to us, and I could not get the publishing of your speech waved, seing the king would have it so, he said it was good for all intents & purposes, by which he meanes as well your advantage as his own & that of his business, and accordingly he speakes with much satisfaction as often as occasion offers of your speech, & amongst other things sayes, sure nobody that repines at church government will reckon you of his side. In a word every body that was heretofore apt to entertain jealousies of you do now say they were mistaken: there's enough of that chapter. My lady gave your letter to the doctor, who I think will write to you concerning your health. The king made me read the Act & yours to him both: and when I had done I read to him also yours to myself, not reserving even that which you did not desire I should import of the complement one of the Bishops put upon you, he taught at it, and if I be not mistaken thinkes the Bishop was not much in the wrong.

* * * * *

This morning the Archb. elect of Canterbury desired me to read out to him the Act My L. Commissioner sent up by this bearer, which when he had all heard he bid me present his service to you, and tell you he found you yet better than your promiss, and then thankt me for the breakfast I had given him. Sir H. Bennet presents his service to yow, not without elogies. Old Cleveland remembers you very kindly as often as he sees me.

[a] See *ante*, 23119, f. 88. Passed on July 10. Fashioned on the Conventicle Act in England. Burnet, i. sect. 204.

I askt the kings commaunds as you desired whether or not I should shew my L. Albemarle what you write about those stories I hinted long to you before I spoke fully of them. I thought them so foolish: he bid me show me all. I did read your words to him in the window of the drawing room & said enough to him of the ridiculousness of the thing, as well as the unreasonableness of it, &c., he said it came to him from Noblemen, & that he would enquire further in the matter. But the King told me it comes from the lady that made the proposition whereof the bearer brought up the judgement of the lords. I do not conceal it from you, because I know your vertu in such cases. I have onely to offer to you that I think 2 lines from your own hand to My L. Alb. would make him turn away from such storie tellers ; vide num tanti sit. Adieu.

XCVIII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 105.]

Halyrudehous, 28 July, 1663.

A meeting we had on thursday so late till it was past wryting time, and my being not well on Saterday night (which obliged me to take physick on Sunday), are the reasons why yow heard not from me since this day sinnet. Take now a breif account of what past of publick concern since my last. On Wedensday Archibald Johnston was hanged[a] at the cross of Ed^r^, according to his most just sentence. His speech at his death was stark staring nought, he did read it out of a paper which when he had done, The bailly tooke from him, and I saw it under his hand. Yow shall have it by the expres who shalbe dispatched once on thursday God willing. On Thursday the Councell met for dispatch of Countrey affaires. Mr. Ja: Wood[b] was called, and becaus he could give

[a] See erroneous note to Burnet, sect. 203.

[b] See *ante*, 23119, f. 88.

no other account of his entrie to his place, Then that it was by warrant from the Usurpers Councell, and seing he had not given satisfaction to the Archbishop according to the act for Masters in the Universities, His place was declared voyd. Some other ministers were before the Councell for preaching, & continuing in their churches, contrarie to the act made against those who came in without presentations, since the yeer 1649. And a Comittee was appointed to consider of a generall cours to meet with all those of that sort. This day after the parl^{t} that Comittee met; we sate long, & have resolved upon that which I hope shall please the Councell. It shalbe reported on thursday, & then yow shall have ane account of it. On fryday last both articles & Parl^{t} met, and the Comission of tryall of billeting made a full report of all the examinations, first to the articles and then to the Parl^{t}. The originall depositions[a] under the Deponents hands were delivered to my Lord Comissioner, and a faithfull extract of them was often red: some pittifull debates we had in Parliament by that partie (which is now dwindled almost to nothing. They wold have had all the originall depositions openly read onely to create debate, But my Lord Comissioner having declared that he had compared the report with the originalls, and in consideration that his Maj^{tie} had onely comanded a tryall to be taken & a report made to his Maj^{tie}, and that the parl^{t} had appointed the Comission to take that tryall, who made so exact a report, It was resolved on the question that the report together with the originall deposition should be transmitted to his Maj^{tie} to the end he may declare his further pleasure. Then the Parl^{t} appointed the Clerk Register, The president of the Session, & S^{r} Peter Wederburne, to draw a letter for the Parl^{t} to his Ma^{tie} in answer to his of the 4th of June, and to report it this day, both to the articles and then to the parl^{t} in pursuance of the late votes this day sinnet, & of the report.

[a] These are included in the MSS. See also Mackenzie.

This day the articles & the parl^{t} met, The letter was unanimously approven by the articles. When it was read in parliament it was moved by my Lord Dumfreis & seconded by Aboyne that there might be a delay. But when it came to the question there were just foure in the whole parl^{t} who voted delay. The letter was thrice read, then debated piece by peice without altering one word in it. At last it came to the vote, and without one contrarie vote it was approven, onely Dumfreis, Morton, and Aboyne, wold not vote. The letter is appointed to be signed by the Chancellar, and to be transmitted by my Lord Comissioner to his Maj^{tie} together with the originall depositions & the Report of the examinations: I will not anticipate, yet I must say, I hope his Maj^{tie} shall finde a cleir account how he and his Parl^{t} have been abused by Tarbets desiring incapacities in name of the Parl^{t} wheras the Parl^{t} utterly disclaimes any such warrant. His Maj^{tie} shall also see the E. of Middletons instruction, authorising Tarbet to desire it in name of the Parl^{t}, when both Middleton and Tarbet knew there was no such thing ever motiond in Parl^{t}: And by the depositions his Maj^{tie} shall see the further contryvance & carying on of that designe, together with the abusing his Maj^{ties} name, as if what was done wold be acceptable to his Maj^{tie}: This evening my Lo: Dumfreis hath asked leave of my Lord Comissioner to goe into the west, but I am told he intends for London, It is not twopence matter whither he goe, for I am sure his Maj^{tie} will heare his Parl^{ts} report, & trust it better then any thing frō his Lordship. It is now past midnight, I need not tell yow I am more then wearie, My Lord Comissioner is heir, and bids yow good night. Adieu.

XCIX.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Charles II.

[23119, f. 140.]

Halyrudehous, the last of July, 1663.

By my last I told yow how in obedience to yo^{r} c̃omands yo^{r} Com̃missioner & I did make all the franck professions of freindship to your Chancellar [a] heir that gentlemen could make, & how not onely it was receavd with coldnes, but that also we met with all the opposition he could make in those votes w^{ch} were the foundation of that letter w^{ch} the Parl^{t} hath so unanimously written. Yet we proceeded wth that tendernes with him, that althogh we knew he could tell more then any bodie, we neither wold examine him, nor aske any question. at others w^{ch} might involve him: all that we desired of him was, that because we knew that so long as he opposed Billeting it could not be caried even in that Com̃ittee where it was first proposed. We knew also that the D. of Richmond & E. of Newbrough (the 2 great promoters of that busines aboveboard) came that morning before it was resolved at the Committee, unto his lodging from the Abbey, that they broght him to the Parliament hous where (before that Com̃ittee met) the E. of Middleton & he walked openly above ane houre. We knew well that from that conference they went straight to that Com̃ittee where the Chancellar who had before mainely opposed the way of billeting, did in a speech profes that his second thoghts were the wiser, and so prest billeting as earnestly as before he had opposed it. By w^{ch} means it was resolved at that Com̃ittee: This was on the Saterday. On the Monday following the E. of Middleton in the articles declared yo^{r} pleasure, for the incapacitating of 12, and proposed the way to be by Billeting as the sence of that Com̃ittee, w^{ch} was caried in the articles, & nixt day proponed in the Parl^{t} & executed. Now seing we knew all this, I say all we desired of yo^{r} Chancellar was, That by a privat letter to yow he wold informe yow that he had been so sollicited. This he did positively refuse.

[a] Glencairn. Mackenzie's *Memoirs*.

By w^ch^ it is to me apparent that he depends on some bodie for whose sake he will not even to yow say anything which may concern the E. of Middleton (for he is not so weake but he sees Middleton hath no manner of interest hier). If it were worth your trouble to aske him what I heir relate, He could not deny it, but the whole matter is so cleir to yow by what is heir sent that I confes it is not worth your paines; nor is it further worth yo^r^ considering. He will not, I thinke make further opposition, & thogh he wold, he cannot: and we will still keep faire with him, yet it was my duety to tell yow this.

By the publick papers & what Robin Moray will explaine to yow Yow will see much more made evident then what I said in my speech. We could have gott more witnesses & more evidences. But we forbore the examining of divers noblemen because we saw them most desirous to come off heartily, & having abundance of most cleir depositions, we wold not bring them so much as on the stage; especially seeing all yow comanded was a tryall, & a report to yow & by what is voted by the Parl^t^ & the depositions upon oath transmitted by the Parl^t^, the designe, the contrivance, & the carying it on is made as apparent to yow as the sun. For first the great abuse of yow & of yo^r^ Parl^t^ w^ch^ was the fundation of the whole is most compleatly & legally proved by the Parl^ts^ unanimous vote & Letter disclaiming their making any such desire at all, and the confessions under the hands of Middleton & Tarbet that they made the desire to yow in name of the Parl^t^. Now yow know that the parties confession is in Law a proofe above a thousand witnesses: so that as to this there needs no further proces, but that either yow leave them to the cours of law or declare yo^r^ owne pleasure. If yow leave them to the law yow know what the act of parl^t^ concerning making of lyes betuixt the king and his people brings them to,[a] and they themselvs prest and past in parl^t^ last yeer a precedent in a

[a] 'Leasing making' was high treason. See Burnet, i. sect. 148, for the precedent in the case of Lord Lorn.

matter of much less import. But I should be as unwilling it went that lenth as any freind they have. It remaines therfor that yow declare yo^{r} owne pleasure to yo^{r} parliament concerning those two persons so legally & judicially convicted. Yo^{r} Comissioner does humbly offer it by a privat instruction to Robin Moray. How unfitt it will be for yo^{r} service that theE. of Middleton[a] continue Generall of yo^{r} forces raised & to be raisd, or comander of yo^{r} castle of Ed^{r}, the most important place in this kingdome; or that S^{r} Geo: McKenzie continue one of your Councell of yo^{r} Session, & of yo^{r} Exchequer. And I hope yow will allow me to offer it to yo^{r} consideration how sutable it will be to yo^{r} justice, to declare those two incapable of publick trust, especially the E. of Middleton, who put such ane open abuse upon yow & yo^{r} parl^{t} as the foundation of the incapacitating, & w^{ch} he drave on against honest men to the degree of doing it by Billets. Another in my condition might present this to yow in point of justice, w^{ch} I onely propose & submitt to yo^{r} judgment; any impartiall person methinkes must acknowledge it not onely justice but clemencie, considering what our law wold doe in the case, but having proposed it I doe most heartily submitt to what shall be yo^{r} pleasure. Be pleased also to consider if upon the cleir depositions against the D. of Richmond & Newbrough yow will declare any thing concerning them. If the first wold cleirly confess to yow who set him upon that worke I should desire no further. But the second deservs further, especially considering what yow heard of him ere I parted. He is most unfitt to comand yo^{r} guards heir, and I must to yo^{r} self propose yo^{r} Comissioner as the fittest man in Scotland for that imployment. This is upon my reputation without his knowledg or consent, yet I must humbly offer it to yo^{r} self onely. Now give me leave to acknowledg the receipt of yo^{rs} of the 23 July: I dare not tell my sense of yo^{r} expressions in it, but Ile sweare they are welcomer then all the honor & money in England. Ile say no

[a] He resigned Jan. 5, 1664. See 23121, f. 2.

more of myself, but must returne most humble thankes for yo^{r} bountie to Crafurd. It is worthie of yow. I can say no more. Remember what I said last of the 9 of August. God almighty preserv yow w^{ch} is the greatest earthly blessing I can pray for.

L.

C.— ———

[23119, f. 144.]

Privat instructions to S^{r} Robert Moray, which he is desired to represent humbly to the king himself.

1. Yow shall acquaint his Maj^{tie} that whatever hath been suggested concerning any appearance of troubles from this kingdome, yet his Maj^{tie} may rest assured of the Loyaltie & affection of the much greatest part of Scotland, and that there is so little reason to apprehend the least disturbance to his affaires from hence that if his Maj^{ties} service in any of his dominions doe require the assistance of this kingdom[a] he may confidently promise to himself a more universall concurrence of the body of this kingdom for maintenance of his authority either within Scotland or in any other of his dominions where & when soever he shall command their service then any of his predecessors could have done. Of which his Maj^{tie} may expect a full & cleir declaration from his parl^{t} if he thinke it fitt.

2. Yow shall acquaint his Maj^{tie} that althogh there be a great partie of disaffected persons to the establisht Church government in the West, yow shall assure his Maj^{tie} that not onely for reducing those in that part of the kingdome to their duety, & keeping them in their obedience, but also for the procuring all due obedience to the Bishops in the rest of the kingdome and preventing the increase of shisme, all possible care & industrie shalbe used: and of this his Maj^{tie} may expect a good account.

3. Yow shall acquaint his Maj^{tie} that althogh the E. of Middleton

[a] This is the first hint of the kind. See 23119, f. 173.

by large promises out of the fines & by his employment & the beleiff of the great interest he had with his Maj^tie^ had acquired ane opinion of a considerable partie heir: And althogh by the fals suggestion that others imployed by his Maj^tie^ were disaffected to the Church government establisht, that they opposed those who had sufferd for his Maj^ties^ father, & wold obstruct his Maj^ties^ bountie to them, and by the diligent solicitations of persons then lately comd from Court, the designe of Billeting was caryed on, yet that whole pretended partie is now turned to be the E. of Dumfreis, Aboyne & Morton, with two or 3 gentlemen; and that the rest of the nobility doe not onely profes themselvs satisfyed with what his Maj^tie^ hath done & goe on cheerfully in what is proposed, but have also given as large assurances of freindship to those whom they seemd to oppose as men can give. In so much that as his Maj^tie^ knowes the E. of Middleton hath no interest in any of the Nobility by blood or allyance (except his sone in law), so their concern for him is now vanished; and except his Maj^ties^ imployments create him a new partie, he hath none at all in Scotland.

4. Yow shall acquaint his Maj^tie^ that as his constant antient revenue is so exhausted by pensions and precepts much above what it can beare, that it cannot be broght into any regulation but by his Maj^ties^ expres comands, after the stating it cleirly to his Maj^tie^ (which shalbe humbly offerd assoone as is possible after the parl^t^), so the excise will unavoydably runne into the same condition if his Maj^tie^ doe not tymously prevent it. For first there stand chargd on it two troups of hors & 6 companies of foot: Secondly we are informed that his Maj^tie^ signd ane establishment for those troups much greater than ever Scotland knew, (of which neither I nor his Maj^ties^ Secretary knew anything). It is also informed that the pay of this Establishment will exhaust 32000^lib^ stlin by yeer. And Mr. Cheisly, who was cashkeeper & subcollector for S^r^ Alex^r^. Durham, & who now hath the accounts of the Excise in his hands, does informe me that besides the pay of the troups & companies There

was payed to the E. of Middleton for his oune account 30000^{lib} stlin. This vast summe, together with his M^{ties} precept and the growing charge of the troups, will quickly bring the Excise to the condition of the Exchequer: For prevention of which it is humbly proposed that, seing there is not any need of more hors then his Maj^{ties} owne troup of his guards that his Maj^{tie} wold give authority to pay & to disband that other troup called the E. of Middletons troup. That his Maj^{tie} wold give warrant to call for that Establishment which is alledged to have been signed by his Maj^{tie}, which may be the rule of accounting for the time past with the troups & companies: And that his Maj^{tie} wold give power to his Th^{r} & Th^{r} Depute & Exchequer for preparing a new Establishment for his Maj^{tie} sufficient for the Souldiers & such as the Excise can beare. And, althogh it is conceavd that there is not need of so many as six companies of foot, yet it is humbly proposed that they may continue untill upon the setling of a countrey militia his Maj^{tie} shall thinke fit to reduce them.

5. Yow shall acquaint his Maj^{tie} that it is not thoght fitt to proceed to the setling of any countrey militia untill his Maj^{tie} declare his pleasoure concerning the E. of Middleton, who is now by Comission under the great seale Generall of all forces raisd & to be raisd in Scotland: a place which never was in Scotland in time of peace; a place absolutely needles unles his Maj^{tie} were raising ane army, & then his Maj^{tie} may give a comission to whom he pleases to be Generall.

6. Yow have so full & cleir ane account of the matter of Billeting in S. W. Bruce instructions, the Parlts Letter, the Report, & the Depositions, that yow may easily cleir that busines: Therfor after yow have explaind that whole matter to the King, yow shall humbly represent how unfitt it wilbe for his service that the E. of Middleton continue generall of his forces, or comander of his Castle of Edinbrough, the most important place of the kingdome, & which hath such ane influence over the cheiff cittie. Yow shall humbly

offer how the imploying him in places of such trust will probably renew faction, and the laying him aside will unite the Nobilitie & gentrie of the kindome as one family: yow shall lay open what grounds in law and justice the king hath for such ane act: yow shall put the King in minde that the E. of Middleton seemed to expect this upon the discharging his comission. And when the King calls to minde the Law against Leesing Makers prest last yeer so earnestly on a thing of much less import the persons concernd may thinke such a laying aside on such grounds ane act of eminent clemencie.

7. You shall on the same grounds humbly represent how unfitt it is that S^r^ George McKenzie of Tarbet continue upon the Councell or the Session, or the Exchequer, who at the desire of E. Middleton put that abuse upon his Maj^tie^. And you shall humbly leave it to his Maj^ties^ consideration whither in regard of the depositions concerning the E. of Newbrough he thinke him a fitt person to command his owne guards heir,[a] which is a place fitt for one of the best in Scotland.

8. If his Maj^tie^ shall thinke fitt to lay the E. of Middleton aside, and if he will please to give warrant for setling a moderat countrey militia such as the countrey can easily beare, it shalbe indeavored, & the nomination entirely left to his Maj^tie^.

9. Yow shall humbly offer this inclosed Comission for trying bribery to be signed by his Maj^tie^.

11. Yow shall humbly present it to his Maj^ties^ consideration how fitt it is that when publick busines are dispatched (which is hoped may be ready soone after the returne of this expres) that this Parl^t^ be concluded & dissolved, and that this kingdome returne to the good old forme of government by his Maj^ties^ privie councell and all sutes at Law to be decided by the Session. For which yow may offer these reasons. 1. Long Parlts are more unfitt for Scotland then for any other place, for, publick busines being done, they can

[a] This command was bestowed upon him at the Restoration, when Lauderdale obtained the Secretaryship over his head.

onely serv heir for creating divisions of carying on privat interests. 2. It was well observed of old that in the most corrupt government maniest lawes were made; and this rule holds no where better then in this kingdome. For we have been so long overwearied with the government of pretended Parliat^{s} that the people will never thinke the Kings governement perfectly setled nor themselvs secured from changes & afterclaps untill this Parl^{t} be at ane end. 3. A long Parl^{t} heir is ane unsupportable charge to the nobility in obliging them to live at a high rate in Edinburgh, & to the gentrie & Burroughs in maintaining their com̃issioners at the Parl^{t}, and the most heavie burden lyes on the King: all which have been sufficiently felt this Parl^{t}. 4. Most knowing men were much alarmed with a designe in some to have perpetuated this Parl^{t}, and under that colour to have altered our forme of government & setled the last Com̃issioner as a Viceroy over us: and, thogh his Maj^{ties} grace & goodnes broke that designe by changing the Com̃issioner, yet nothing will so perfectly cure the feares of it as the ending this Parl^{t}. Lastly there is no manner of danger in ending this Parl^{t} heir as there may be in his Maj^{ties} other kingdomes: For if the Kings service should require a Parliament, there is no manner of doubt but the nixt Parl^{t} wold be as intirely at his Maj^{ties} devotion as he can desire: For the Lords Spirituall and Temporall are the same & they sitting in the same hous, the King knowes what influence they have. Besides the power which the officers of state and noblemen have in Elections of Com̃issioners for Shires and Burroughs may secure his Maj^{tie} of the new elections, especially seing the declaration concerning the Covenant keeps out those who are avers to the Church Government establisht: and the great consideration which puts it past all apprehension of danger is, that [not] onely hath the king in Scotland his Negative vote, but God be thanked by this constitution of the articles his Maj^{tie} hath the affirmative vote also: For nothing can come to the Parliament but through the articles, and nothing can pass in articles but what is warranted by his

Maj^{tie}: so that the king is absolute master in Parl^{t} both of the negative and affirmative. All this is humbly submitted to his Maj^{tie} and his pleasure desired upon it.

12. All the foregoing particulars yow shall manage with your knowen discretion, and, having represented the grounds and reasons for every thing proposed, yow shall assure his Maj^{tie} his servants heir will heartily & without eny repyning acquiesce in what ever shall be his Maj^{ties} pleasure. For as they serv him without byends, so they will still serv him in his owne way, and make his declared pleasure their rule in all that concerns his service. Wherin his Maj^{tie} is certainly the best & onely judge.

As soone as yow have spoke at lenth with the King, dispatch hither ane expres pacquet and yow shall immediately have ane expres sent back.

Halyrudehous, last July, 1663.

ROTHES.

Signed by Rothes only, but *holograph* of Lauderdail.

Notes by Sir R. Moray on paragraph 11 inserted on a slip of paper.

"If the Parliam^{t} be not now dissolved it may be imagined that matters of Church & State are not sufficiently settled.

"That the existence of a Parliament is necessary for governing the kingdome of Scotland, his Maj^{ties} power & authority being insufficient.

"That it may come to pass (as hath been reported from E. M^{s} own mouth) that it is to kept up till M. put a close to it."

CI.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

[23119, f. 159.]

Holyrudhouse, August 8th, 1663.

* * * * *

And now I must make ane end with my owne Lame hand.[a] The pacquet is just now come, and I am vext to the heart that

[a] Lauderdale had hurt his hand by a fall.

S. W. Bruce was not come; I care not two pence for the arrivall of Middletons expres, but I am vext that yow can hardly have our great dispatch before his Maj^tie goe to Tunbridg: Alwayes when yow see it & consider that the instructions were first written with my hand, & the privat ones transcribed also by me, yow will see I was not idle from twesday till fryday night considering the publick meitings. I did indeed forget to send yow Wariestons wicked speech which was not taken from him till he had read it, yow shall have it on Twesday. I did also forget to send yow that originall billet which my Lo: D. of Lennox did give to my Lo: Halkerton.[a] Here it is, & yow will see it written with ane English hand who could not spell one of our names right.

What yow say of good offices done to me the contrarie way does not trouble me, for I am sure I doe my duety & I have a just Master, God preserv him, and I care not three skips of a Curre tyke what can be said or done against me. Adieu.

Let the King know from me that I have ill nature enough to beleev that it was rather for putting things into confusion & increasing the number of dissenters then for zeale against the Covenant that my Lord Middletons foure freinds moved for generall imposing the declaration, for indeed it wold be ill service to the King & wors for the Bishops.

CII.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Sir Robert Moray.

[23119, f. 161.]

Halyrudehous, 11 August, 1663.

By the using of my owne hand yow may guess I have not much to say, nor indeed hath there much occurred worth his Maj^ties knowledg since my last on Saterday night. Yesterday morning was spent in a comittee for regulating the Excise, and the afternoone

[a] See *ante*, letter LVIII.

in Exchequer. This day the Councell met, & past a generall act relating principally to those ministers who came in without presentations in & since the yeer 1649, and who have since preached in contempt of the law. They, together with all ministers who are or shalbe found to preache against the government of church or state, are ordained to remove their families 20 miles from their parishes, & to reside 6 miles from all Cathedralls, & 3 miles from all Royall burroughs. All Gentlemen & heretors are comanded not to heare them or countenance them in any ministeriall function under the paines contained in the Law: and all ministers who came in before 1649 are comanded to keep sinodicall assemblies. This act past unanimously after debate, & is appointed to be printed, so yow shall have it by the next. This morning the articles met, and in obedience to his Majties comand gave order to prepare the act for rescinding those clauses in the act concerning the sones of forfaulted persons [a] which did intrinch on his Majties prerogative in pardoning, & with which his Majtie was so unsatisfyed. To morrow the articles meet againe, for we were preparing the act (which past in councell this afternoone), & so it was late ere the articles met this morning, & nothing was done but some other privat busines. One observation I must make to yow, The Advocat was a little insolent this morning. I did quickly lay his cracks, and so did my Lord Comissioner. But I have just now heard the reason, for I am told the Bishop of Winchester [b] hath written a brave incouraging Epistle to our Chancellar, as if upon the arrivall of Robin Ker there were strange changes at Court. Of this yow shall know the certainty by the next. In the meane time I could not conceale it, though it troubles me very little, being most assured of his Majties constancie & justice.

Receave the act I promised yow in my last concerning the declaration, as also Arch: Johnstons originall wicked speech under his owne hand, And a corrected copie of his Majties letter. In the box

[a] See Burnet, i. sect. 149. See 23119, f. 140. [b] George Morley.

are more copies. Yesternight I had your short letter by the ordinary; and at two a clock this morning yo^rs by the expres pacquet; in which there is nothing requires answer, but concerning the name filled in with my hand in the Comission for brybing. The person is usefull & fixed, he could not have been reached by it, and being able & willing to serv the king as he desires my Lord Comissioner and I resolved to name him on it. This I hope will satisfy. A very sore arme makes me end. Adieu.

CIII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 173.]

21 Aug. 63.

Though the bearer must be left to say many things I mean to ommit nothing totally: onely enlargements yow will get from him. Till yesterday in the afternoon I could not get his Majesty at leasure enough. Hee was pleased to speak fully enough of everything, & to hear all I had to offer. The letter to the parl^t he read carefully & was pleased with it, & indeed hinted himself some of the important expressions in it. I had made another draught more Rhetoricall somewhat he did not lyke so well. The instructions he read twice. Hee did hesitate in none of them, save a litle in that for dissolving the parl^t, but when I had minded him of the arguments offred by my lord Commiss^r in his instructions to me & added a word or two more, he resolved it was very fit. Then he signed all the papers, I having given him a short sum of every one, onely he read that part of the docket of Mr. Rob. Prestons signature that mentions the patronage, taking speciall notice of that but stuck not at it. Then I presented the Commission[a] last of all, & having askt whom he thought fit to insert, he bid me name some

[a] See 23119, f. 144.

honest men, so I named them one by one, & he approved all, so they were insert. When wee came to speak of E. Mid., I told him if he had already fixed his resolution (which by the way it did not appear to me he had) I had nothing to say, but if he had not, perhaps I might represent some reason to him that would conduce towards it, so he gave me leave to read some notes I had made, & adde now & then a word by way of supplement. I told him first, that the first thing to be resolved was, whether E. Mid. should be laid totally aside as to his trusts or not. Then how & when. When I had gone over the reasons for laying him aside, he said he would do it. I had insisted upon the generalls place, which in end he exprest himself as much against as I did, taking notice of the singular case in the person of G. Monk, & saying there should be no more such, &c. Then he having formerly, in a short conference, said he meant to have what further was to be resolved concerning E. M. done in his Scots council, I shewed him how that could not be, and he did not insist. At last, after a great deale of discourse that I need not repeat, the resolution he came to was, that he will lay him aside, but will hear him first; that he will not do that till my Lord Commissioner & you come hither: and then he will call Mid. to him before such as he shall think fit, tell him his case, hear what he hath to say, & so put an end to the business. This I desired him to signify under his hand to my Lord Commissioner, but he commaunded me to do it, and I have drawn two lines of it in a letter apart to the Commissioner, which I mean to show his Majesty as being his sense to the best of my remembrance. The bearer will enlarge upon these matters. I shall onely adde that, although it was not possible for me to obtain more, I ommitted nothing lay in me to do it: and I doe not at all doubt, though the execution be delayed meerly upon the account of his Majesties lenity and tenderness of his way of proceeding, lest he should be thought to deal unjustly in punishing without hearing and admitting of persones to say what they can for themselves, yet he will

performe what I have said. In mean time the casseering of the E. Mid^{s} troop is one fair step more, and it is my opinion you cause draw up a paper containing in legall forme every particular wherewith the E. of M. & the rest can be charged, and especially that all matters of money be fully & clearly deduced & insisted on, that so whatsoever is not yet known of the undertaking & keeping up of money may be added to other known miscarriages, which will doubtless weigh as much as any one thing with his Majesty. The objection against the settling of the Militia before Midd^{s} Commission be taken away hee removes by saying he will not let him go down to Scotland; this he hath said already, but I mean to secure it better to-morrow: for looking by chance upon your privat register I lighted upon his Commission, & finde he is by it impowered to commaund the Militia, which you did not tell the King nor me, though you may say he might have remembered it & I observed it was insinuated. However, let not that be any stick in the settling of the Militia, but I will labour to get his Maj^{ty} either to say in his letter to the Com^{r}, or charge me to do it in his name, that hee will not let Midd. go to Scotland till his business be at an end as he designes it.

I hope my L. Com^{r} and you will finde every instruction full enough; his words in his instructions are all taken in & extended as far I could think on. The act Rescinding that of Billeting may name the persons if my L. Com^{r} think fit, and their epithetes may be such as are most advantageous. The generall termes of just esteem of duetifullness & deservings will bear any specification that is propper. The clause for rasing out of the records is left also to the Com^{r}. His M^{y} first thought was for doing it absolutely: but afterwards he thought fit to leave the words as they are because they give power to do it if it be fit, and do not enforce it if it be not,[a] just so is it with the prohibition of billetting: it may either be re-

[a] The records of the Billeting Act were erased.

stricted or not, as the Com[r] shall think fit, but it is reasonable enough as it seemes here to restrict it. The termes of the instruction for the militia yow will finde large enough too. S. W. B. brings with him the Acts for settling the Militia here, and the Council's directions to the Lord-lieutennants which may be considdered & so much taken into your way of of settling your militia there of it as shall be expedient. The clause for expressing the Kingdomes readiness to serve the King,[a] his M[y] layes great weight upon as being significant to his service here that it be made known: which he knowes was the meaning of the Commissioner it should: & therefore his letter to the Parl[t] takes the more hold of that passage in theirs to him which it repeates, that from thence a handsome rise may be taken to move all to be said on that subject in their answere to this his letter that shall be fit. As to the instructions concerning the acquainting the Parl[t] with his further pleasure in the matter of billeting, It is his Majesties meaning it should be exprest to the parl[t] by the Com[r] just as it stands, when he shall think fit to let the parl[t] know he hath reecaved his Majesties pleasure in answere to his last dispatch by S. W. B. And it is indeed fit, & conforme both to his Majestie's way of doing, as well as his pleasure and suitable to your own carriage in Middletons matters, and indeed both prudent & sober not to make any noyse of his Majestie's secret resolutions, which I am not at all apprehensive shall be shaken no more than formerly. And for the last instruction concerning the Dissolut. I do not recommend more haste than good speed; but assure yourself, the sooner my L. Com[r] & you come hither the better it will be both for his Majesties affaires & your own concernes, as well as the carrying to a close all things that you have before you yet unfinished in relation to Billets.

Now that the Register[b] is right & fixed, pray forget not to

[a] See 23119, f. 144. [b] Primrose.

adjust all differences between him & S. W. Bruce. I had rather it were done by you alone than with any other help, I mean hereaway. Crafurd advises to make the Commission for bribing last till the King recall it, alledging there must some limitation of time in it, and I think it can do no harm & therefore mean to add it. Adieu.

CIV.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23119, f. 182.]

23 Aug. 63. 4 o'clock.

Since dinner I received your dispatch of 19 by the express packet, at my arrivall from Highgate. Assoon as I had read all I went up and meeting the King delivered him first his own letter, which he read at his closet dore, & when he had done, he turned and took from me yours to me & went in and read it: when he had read the first of your two hee lookt upon my L. Dunfreiss proposall.[a] When he had read no more but the proposall itself, he hinted that it might not be amiss to appoint such as are to come in to the ministry to take the declaration. To which I spoke a word which I think made him see at least the needlessness of that, but when he had read the rest he shook his head & called it raking a Dunghill,[b] & when I had askt him if he would speak a word of it in his letters that are yet under his hand, he said he would, and allowed me to say he condemnes the motion, as I think his letter will do; he said after further reflection upon the thing & the proposers that it was (I think his word was) a malicious design. Now to the other part of your letter in order.

You do well to leave no Lacunas in your letters, for though when you write not Mr. Sharp say now and then of business, it is fitt

[a] See last clause of 23119, f. 159.

[b] A favourite simile with Charles II.

that evry particular be under your hand, that your letters put together may make up a complete story; remember this. It is idle? to see that at the same time there is a law made here for free export & import of Bullion, & there another prohibiting the export, but I will not enter upon that theme. His Mʸ will no doubt be satisfied with the Act imposing extraordinary customes upon English Commodities seing his instrnctions warrant it, and nobody can rationally complain, seing it will be in his Majesties power to take them off again.[a] I have not yet had the opportunity to congratulate his M. for having his incapacity taken off him, but he read your letter & so knowes it, though he had time to speak of it. Wee will lykewise at some convenient time talk of the debate about it.

For Dunfreisses motion I need adde no more. Now to your second letter.

By the suddainness of this dispatch with full & clear resolution in every thing, you will finde His Mʸ doeth the business of Scotland not onely alone but with pleasure, whereof you ought to take notice. He is lykewise very well pleased to observe that not onely he is informed fully of *all passages* but no step advanced in new matters without his warrant. Hee lykes well that the commissions for Councel & Exchecker & the lists come not up till you bring them, and then he will expunge & adde as he thinkes fit. His Mʸ will also examin Newb. immediately after he hath examined Rich. as you advise: but I am of the minde he will not do it till you be here nor think I of urging it because I am for the delaying of it till then. The King smiled when he read the passage concerning the Bishops letter, but being in haste said nothing of it, onely I observed to him, that I had told him of that foolish vaunt of Mideletons closing this Parlᵗ but not till I saw he was resolved to make an end of it, and here I must tell you that his Majesty commaunded me to tell my L. Commissioner & you, that he would

[a] See Burnet, i. sect. 205.

have you dispatch mattters with all convenient speed, and the parliament being dissolved to haste up hither both; take notice of this and beg pardon for me from my L. Commissioner; I said not this in my letter to him, but it is as authentick here, and indeed though I had said nothing of it I am sure he would have done so at least as to the dispatch, but now the other point of coming up being added none other business must excuse his stay: for it will outdo Middletons deportment in that point too, of coming to give his M. an account of his business as soon as it is done.

Your way of dealing as to Middleton was observed & compared. The printing of the Kings letter[a] to the Parl[t] galls some people, but the reprinting, whereof I was ignorant, more: it is lyke the printing of the Parlts letter will be yet worse, but very tru. The advocate's name was taken notice of too. The King mentioned it with a stigma. For the last clause that you had almost forgot, I will forget altogether: therefore finde out the answere of it where you can. A dieu.

CV.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23120, f. 8.]

Bathe, 7 Sep. 63.

* * * * * *

L'Estrange who it seemes hath got the printing of the Newes-bookes, is not so cliver at it as his predecessor was. There are 4 or 5 errata in what he prints of the Act for the Nationall Synod, which are so obvious I need not mark them, and therefore the greater Hobby-horse here. The king still magnifies the act upon all occasions, speakes with great satisfaction of the proceeding of the parl[t] in leaving the ordering of those new imposts & the matter of com-

[a] Declaring his dislike of the Billeting Act.

merce to him, comparing it with way of the p. of this nation, and observes frequently, & before many hearers, that whereas in former sessions of the parl^{t} of Scotland those he trusted made acts for prosecuting to the hight privat enmities, they who he employes now, besides that they serv him his own way, do lyke gentlemen in seeking the utter ruin of nobody, whatsoever provocation they have met with. I suppose this touch of his M^{ties} abundant expressions to this purpose will not at all displease neither my L. Com^{r} nor you.

CVI.—The Earl of Lauderdale to Charles II.

[23120, f. 12.]

Halyrudehous, 10 Sep^{r}, 1663, being the day after Saint Billetings day.

Your comands as to the way of my wryting oblige me to say little of the great sence I have of yo^{r} dispatch by Will. Bruce, & of that w^{ch} I am ravisht, That yow govern this poore Kingdome yo^{r} self. Yo^{r} comands concerning Dumfreises wilde motion were obeyd without noyse (least the disaffected should have taken advantage). He was ordered to insist no more. And so the motion is dead. By yesterdayes Act yow will see that Billeting is dead buried & descended, and that the act is exactly as yow directed. The finishing it is refered to yo^{r} self, and I relye on what Ro. Moray wrote by yo^{r} order. Yo^{r} way is ever best & sure shall please me best. What I have by yo^{r} Comissioners order & his approbation written as to the busines of Buccleuch is so true & so full that I shall adde nothing, but onely that althogh I knew well why yow wrote particularly to yo^{r} Chancellar about it, yet he was so roused by it, & did so rant about it that he will not joyne with us in any returne, but thinkes to doe wonders. But if he vary from our relation I must say he varies as much from treuth. Be pleasd to

weight the whole & comand what yow please, & I need not tell yow yow shalbe punctually obeyd: we durst not move what was so positively illegall [a] without a cleir order, but if it be yo[r] will yow shall see we know no law but obedience. I have written so much that I doe feare my hand shall grow a bugbeare or as we say heir a bogell. So I dare not inlarge further but that heart & hand & all is yours.

CVII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23120, f. 19.]

Bathe, 10 Sep. 1663.

This morning when the coach was standing at the dore to carry me to S[r] James Thinnes some 15 mile off to dinner, your express packet of 4 inst. came to my hands, which made me take the sheaf from the mare. Assoon as I had read onely your 2 letters I carried them immediately to the King, who was in the Queens Bedchamber staying till her mass was done & then to be gone. He read the first, and before he could read half the other the Queen came & carried him away. I had onely time to receive his commaunds for a warrant to Middleton to deliver the Establishment to James Maitland. I have also drawn two letters, one to my L. Com[r] & you to haste up, & another to my L. Glencairne whereof I shall send yow a copie. I think the King will commaund me to write in his name. I am sure it is the readiest, and I suspect that unless the Duke of Monmouths business [b] make the parl[t] sit 5 or 6 dayes longer as you say, that the parl[t] may be up before this comes to your hands. Now I will see what I have more to say to your letters before I speak with the king. Yow will see by the diurnall (which is now in L'Estranges hands, who thinkes the kingdome is

[a] See Burnet, i. sect. 208.

[b] Burnet, i. sect. 208.

to be governed as it seemes by newes bookes) that I have not transcribed every word of your communicable letter. If the people heard of the particular powers of the commission against Cameron &c. they would think all Scotland were by the eares together; but you mean onely to let the king know such particulars, & he understands them well enough, for he said so to me while I was taking the one letter out of his hand & giving him the other. The hopes you give in the matter of the Militia and the P^{s} answere to the Kings letter you may be sure are as significant & acceptable as anything can be. I need not tell you the consequences of it. The discovery you promise of abuses in the revenues & the troupes will lykewise be of great consideration. There was no disbanding E. Midd^{s} troop without paying of it. I have just now been thinking of it, but can light on no expedient. Nay nor in case hee finde some shift to delay the sending of the Establishment, or that by some accident it cannot be got suddainly, do I see anything to be done but let it go its pace, for to pay the officers & sogers as they have been hitherto, & bid them come again at another time, is not to be thought on for ought I know. However, I mean to speak to the King about it. His Majesty apprehends well enough the expediency of disbanding that troop from the very first motion was made of it, & you may be sure will further it all he can. I mean to speak with him also about the carriage of the persone who you say was changed with these 4 dayes, & say in a postscript what I learn. So shall I in what concernes my L. D. of Monmouths business. I which I think the proceeding is such as can be wisht. I intend to offer the presidents letter to the King to read, or if he have not leisure for that to speak to him of them as much as is needfull, & then write to him. And so I have done with your letters till anone.

I think I have no more to adde save that I send Middletons warrant to Mr. Maitland, and bid him lose not a moment in finding out E Middleton to get the paper from him: and that he do not

stop the packet half a day staying for it: but send forward the packet without it, if he sees he must stay for it: and yet not give over till he get it, & then send it, & give you notice by this packet what you are to expect. As the King was reading over your second letter, when he came to the place that speakes of the Chancelors bragging that the whole weight of business is laid on him, he stopt suddainly & told me that he onely wrote to him of it because the motion came from him. I said onely a word or two to minde him of some of my former notes upon that chapter. In a word he is pleased with all is done by the Com^{r} & you to a very high degree, and when I began to speak to him of the president's letters he stopt me, telling me that he had said nothing in his letter to his disadvantage, nor had not the least thought to his prejudice, but is most perfectly well satisfied with him: and so would let me read nor say no more of his matter. I told him that I thought the parl^{t} would now be up shortly, unless the D. of Monm^{s} business hindred it: for others writ which you did not, & therefore I mentioned it not, that the 15 instant is appointed for riding & dissolving. I have onely to say more, that if all be held that is height as to instruction concerning the answere to his M^{s} last letter, that will be far beyond all that is done hitherto, I assure you, and so my l. Com^{r} & you will finde assoon as God sends you hither, which may he do suddainly & well. Adieu.

CVIII.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23120, f. 25.]

Bathe, 14 Sept. 63

* * * * *

6 at night.

When the King was coming out from from dressing himself after his return I stept to him & told him, the course he had taken

for the troop was opportune & prevented troublesome delayes, for E. Middleton was not at London as Mr. Maitland had informed me, but gone to Oxfordshire. I askt whether he would be pleased to commaund me to write to him to send that paper to Mr. Maitland, to which his M. assented, but as I was going to see Dr Crighton before I came home I met E. Middleton & E. Newburgh in the street (a very narrow one) where wee saluted, & I not having found the Dean at home returned to court: as I overtook them, they turned out of the way (observe the providence) so as to give me the opportunity to see the King first. I told him my labour in writing to E. M. was saved for I met him and E. N. as I was going to write. I askt him if he would demaund that paper, he said he would, & admit no excuse. They came in to the privy chamber afterwards where the King & Queen were sitting without other salute than a leg. The King without moving askt if he came by Oxford & if he had seen my L. Chancelor, and that was all that past. The King rose, & past by E. M. hastily into the Queen's bedchamber, where soon after they followed, but either saw him not or thought good not to accost him. And I am come to say all this to you, because the post is ready to part. What more occurres my next will have. Adieu.

CIX. — Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23120, f. 27.]

Bathe, 15 Sep. 63.

Mackie tells me he came this morning a 8 aclock: it was past ten before he found me out: and now having just dined, alone like a prince, I sit down to say all I can till the King dispatch what is to return by the bearer. Assoon as I had read all he brought I went to the King, where he was dressing himself after having been in the Bath & swatt. There was nobody with him but the E. of Newbur. & Sr Alexander Fraser, besides 2 grooms & 2 pages &

T. Lile. Hee was reading while his head was a combing. I upon his first look off the book, cast in a discourse of Dr Pierces sermon that hath begot a book that will trouble him to answere, & that furnisht matter of talk till he was ready. My L. Newb. and I talkt at turns, and when the King was ready he stept to His My and spoke 5 or 6 words to him in a corner. When he had done and the King going down stairs, I told him I had an express dispatch for him, that would take him up some half an houre; hee bid me come to him, in the evening, I waited on him to Court, but got no houre set me, though I moved for it, so I came hom, meaning to go to him abont 4 a clok: and in the mean time to write all I have to say before I receive his Ms commaunds. I mentioned in my letter yesternight by the ordinary packet that E. Middleton & Newb. came hither I think about 5 aclock, and told you what he did at his first seeing of the King. After the King was retired as I told you, & he had followed him into the Queens Bedchamber without conversing with him: hee stayed in the privy chamber till supper was on the table about 9 aclock, and then when the gentleman usher went in to give his My notice supper was come, Es Mid. & Newb. stept to him just as he was coming out at the Bedchamber dore, E. M. stopt his way, clapt briskly down on his knee & taking (I say taking) his My by the hand, kist it, & so did Newb. after him, without one word spoken. The K. past without further looking after them: went into the presence, & they home. This now was a feat of warre I had not seen before.

Having spoke to the King at his first arrivall, without kissing his hand, to do it thus by a kind of surprise: perhaps, not having seen the King since the 2 letters were printed, he understood by this kiss of the Kings hand his admission to grace & favor. You will guess by this that I am at leisure, & mean to pay you with a long letter. Yet I do not mean to lard it with reflections upon such passages of Mackies dispatch, as furnish me matter enough: because I hope wee shall now meet within 3 weekes at most God-

willing: for unless the King write himself or that somewhat be to be drawn for him to sign, I hope Mackie shall be dispatcht some time this night, otherwise you know it will be fair, if he get away to-morrow before dinner.

17 Sep. 11 a'clock.

Yesternight I expected from soon after 3 till His Majesty went to bed, but not a word of business from him, though the grooms thought the Duke of Buckingham & I kept him up much later than usually. I can yet but guess what his M'ᵗ pleasure will be: for I was this morning again with him soon after he rose, & stayed with him till he was going to horse to dine at my lord Herbert's house 14 miles off, so that I do scarcely look for a dispatch till to-morrow & perhaps not so soon, though I will endeavour to have it this evening. This is lyke to prove a pretty epistle. Yet for as long as I spin it out, diverge & sundry things will be left till meeting, as you may easily guess.

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CX.—Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23120, f. 50.]

6 Oct. 63.

The King read your last of 29 Sep. attentively, and when he had done, told me first that those that were said to have ground of jealousie upon the Militia matter have more cause of fear by it. I told him, that if hee was satisfied with the thing it was little matter who were troubled at it; and I assure you hee is pleased with all his heart. Then he commaunded me to tell you that, let those people vaunt as they please, they will be out of countenance ere long. I beleeve you will not forget this. Then he said he thought your spirit was quieted by what Mackie carried, who I supposed to be with you on fryday last, if not the night before. * *

* * * * * Adieu.

CXI.—The Earl of Middleton to Charles II.[a]

[23121, f. 2.]

May yt pleas y^r^ Majestie,

I Jhon Earle of Middleton doe by these freelie and heartilie resigne upgive and overgive in and to y^r^ Majestie's hands the offices of Captain generall of y^r^ Maj. kingdome of Scotland, and of captain and keeper of y^r^ Majesties Castle of Edinbrogh granted to me by two severall guifts and letters patents under y^r^ Majesties great seale of the said kingdome to be disposed upon at y^r^ Majesties pleasour in all time commyng. In wittnes wherof the presents are written and signed by

May it pleas y^r^ Majestie y^r^ Majesties most fathfull most humble and most obedient subject and servant,

Middleton.

London, Jan. 5th, 1664.

Endorsed: For the Kings most sacred Majestie.

CXII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23121, f. 6.]

My dear Lord, Janua. the 7 [166¾].

Tho I wreat oftin to you about prayffit business and of all particulars as thay ocur, yit I have never sead aniething as to the steat and condision this cingdum is in, which nou I am resolvid to du uith ffridum to your selffe alone: you cnou ther ar tuo sorts of pipill dissatisfayd, the uan uin the surthe guffirmint and the other that such persons as thay uold have dusnot under his Majestie

[a] This resignation marks the completion of Lauderdale's triumph. Rothes succeeded Middleton in these offices. Middleton afterwards was Governor of Tangiers, and died in 1673.

manage the affears of steat; as to the ffurst of these I thinck I may say ther is not so great deangir to be feard ffrom them as hes bin much tackt of or as realie I did aprehend unless other discontents meack pipall flay to that pretens and conserne them selffs on that acount that thay may represent them selffs and ther intrists as the more considerabill, bot the dangir that uill be in that I houp uill scaar anie from daring to adventur on it, yit ther ar manie of that gang that sticks togeather, of uhom it is evident had they anie opertunatie ther eiuill youmirs and uors prinsapills uold stur agane; bot for them I shall have als uathffull an ay over them as I can, and altho I teack no cause bot that uhich is uith a great deall of moderasiane and callmnis, yit iff I ffaynd them in earnest I most ffall upon them uith rigur, uhch tho it be verie ffar from my inclinasione I am affrayd uill shut best uith thos uho are discontent upon that acount, sins nothing uill satisfay them ; bot the other uho ar angrie that sum persons ar lead asayd ar bothe as I apprehend mor in number and more emenint in ther stasion, tho I dunot thinck ther cayndnis ffor the Earl of Midiltun's person or parts uear uerie great, bot thay had bilt such houps of great things ffrom him that ther disapoyntmint puts them mad, tho I beliff uhen thay axamin ther reson thay cannot bot sie it could never be in his pour to performe the third part of uhat hie undertuck ffor all uas out of the ffayns, and aleas I sie effidentlie thay uill (*sic*) me most inconsiderabill, tho thay disoblidg manie, and meacks great grumblings and hert burnings, eivin such as griffs my verie soull to thinck on, bot ther is onlie on remadie I have or can propos to you, uhich is that thay may be to disposid of by his Majestie to such persons as ar signifficant in the kingdum that as manie ar disobliged by them so thos that ar oblidgid may du mor then countirbalins them, and then thay uill sie thay have got mor ffaver then thay could have otheruays expecktid, and uhen you reffleckt upon them uho you cnou I min by you, and I have so offtin tackt of it, you uill sie it is such as thos that hes the most just pretensiones, and it

is nou hay taym you uear thincking upon a uay of trayill of such as ar lefft out, and that such as ar tu severlie delt uith may have sum justeas in the secund moayitie, bot for crayst seack bayg of the King not to be tu sudin in the disposill of the ffayns, or uie are all undune, nou iff you have pasins anuff to rid all this it is much, bot sins it is onlie to your selff I cear not uhat I say, ffor I ureat to you just as I thinck . . . . . and the seam ffridum is no . . . . . expecktid fram you bot not . . . . . by

Your oun R.

CXIII.—Lord Balcarres to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23121, f. 29.]

My Lord, Balcarres, Jan. 23, 1664.

I have with no small contentment girded your Lop. present to my syde, and shall useit in my Soveraignes and your service; for if by his royal bounty and your Lop. indeavors it be not prevented, the llau uill not suffer me to imploy it in the defence of any such thing which I might call an inheritance. I do therfor uith thankefullnes embrace your suord as an addition to your former favors and an earnest of your future care of,

My Lord,
Your lop. most humble and
oblidged servant,
C.[a] Balcarres.

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[a] Colin, 3rd Earl, born about 1652. He went to London in 1668, and was at once taken into favour through Lauderdale's influence. For his career see Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland.*

CXIV.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23121, f. 53.]

My Noble Lord, Edr. 20 Febr. 1664.

Doe not neglect the speedie setling of the Militia as is condiscended to by Parliament, for I am informed that great distempers are lurking in the Hyghlands and in the West Countrie.[a] This poore kingdome is much unprovyded of Armes, & the severall Shyres ought to have tymelie notice to provyde for the severall proportions they are to putt forth besydes the setled Magazin of Armes & Ammunition that is to be keept heir for his Ma^ties use.

I doe meet with sundrie extravagant storyes, which (tho I am not affrighted with) yet doe I conceive it verie unfit so much to slight such warnings as not tymelie to provyde for evrie thing that may make good our publict professions to the king, & as may most effectually answer His Maj^ties expectation from us.

My Noble Lord,

Your Lop^s most humble

& most faithfull servant,

Bellenden.

CXV.—Archbishop Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 16.]

May it please your Lop., Edinburgh, Apryll, 21, 1664.

At my coming to this place upon Thursday last, I received the

[a] Burnet, Archbp. of Glasgow, writing to Sheldon on Feb. 27, 1664, says, "I find that in our absence the spirits of our discontented persons are much heightened, & that their impudence & insolences are great; how much they are countenanced & encouraged by some who have pretended to your Lp. to be our great patrons and patriots I am ashamed to relate."—(Sheldon MSS.)

favour of your Lops. for which I return many thanks; an apology from your Lop. could not be expected by me who may know your divertions, and can never doubt of your Lops. reall respects. I apprehend how much you are putt to the minding of poast nights, which is not alwayes a very pleasing task, and therfor forbear to trouble your Lop. by often wreating, which I compense by large letters when I send them. After the reading of his Ma^tyes letter I did take the oath in the Exchequer, and Glasgow in the Councill, we are to obey wher the King commands, though we both could wish we had no more to doe but to attend our books at St. Andrews and Glasgow and the busines of our diocess; my Lord of Argyll may prove a very significant ruling Elder to Glasgow in all that provence, who will have need of his Lops. help to cure the distempers there, which report sayes are no whit abated: it is most satisfying to me that my lo. Canterbury and your Lop. keep kindnes and freedom, it is sure my concerne to further it what I can; I wrot once to him since I came from London,[a] and received the other day one from him, which I did communicat to my L. Thesurer; he gets no allarums from me but such as I give to your Lop., you having been pleasit to allow me the freedom of acquainting you with what I find, hear, or fear as to the condition of this church, whose settlement in the way ordered by the lawes we have all reasons to be confident you doe and will by all effectuall meanes endeavour: we promote litle, and can doe litle, without the reall assistance of the kings ministers heer. We find more then professions from my lord Thesaurer,[b] and if people did beleeve that all who serve the king heer did pursue his M^atyes service in suppressing the disaffected with that zeal and concernednes which appears in his lops.[c] actings, our difficulties which still obstruct our way would soon fall befor us; it is apparent to all y^t Remonstrators and others

[a] There is no letter from Sharp to Sheldon in the Sheldon MSS. before June, 1664.

[b] Rothes.

[c] See Note to preceding letter.

are combyned into a party against the legall setlement, and resolve to pretend unclearnes to yeeld to the fairest and most reasonable motion which may seem to tend to the breaking of that knott; that lye of the kings reall care of the church is vented in S^r^ John Cheisley's name, and of one of another sex in the west;[a] when I am told of that knight and S^r^ Ja. Stuart,[b] and ther relations ther confidences of the freindship they have at Whythall I beleeve it is the trick of these quondam grandees in the west to creat apprehensions in people they are not yet insignificant, least the contributions which are pretendedly made for distressed ministers should advance slowly, and I am persuadit y^t^ my Lord Lauderdaill has as much kyndnes for that obliging gang as the king has, and I am sure that shall doe us no hurt; we are told now that Stair is sent for to be dispensed with as to his taking the declaration, and y^t^ the eyes of our adversaries are much upon him, but I think he is more wise then to putt himself into a singular condition. I c^d^ acquaint your Lop. with that dialogue I had with Mr. Wood, who spoke to the same purpose & much more to some ministers who did visit him; the rumour of which spreading to those of the combination, Mr. Joh. Carstairs his brother in law, came to him, & with the assistance of his brethren brought him (when through weakness of body & heighth of feaver he had not to the observa^o^n of those who then saw him the exercise of his reason) to subscribe a paper,[c] the copye wherof I have inclosit; which was done in my absence at Edinburgh, diverse ministers dissatisfyed beeng then at Mr. Woods house; this was so noyced, & the copyes of the paper so spread y^t^

[a] Mrs. Gillespie (?), see Letter XVIII.: or "the enthusiastic woman" mentioned by Mackenzie (p. 48), "who prophesied much in favours of the covenant," to whom Chieslie had been Secretary.

[b] Letter LXIV.

[c] See Wodrow for this paper, included also in these MSS.; also a letter from Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, for May 2, 1664, in the Sheldon MSS. (Bodleian Library).

upon my return to St. Andrews I found I had been wanting to my duty if I had not acquainted the Comission[a] with it; who having taken the copye of that paper (which was by two of the witnesses under ther hands in face of the court attested to be a true one) into consideration and the consequences of the dispersing therof, did vote it according to an Act of Parliament to be a scandalous and seditious paper, and by proclamation all copyes to be called in and inhibit the further spreading of it, and ordained it to be burnt at the cross of St. Andrews upon tuesday next; the witnesses though they might justly be presumed to have accession to it, yet were dismissed; but Mr. Jo. Carstairs, who of all the Remonstrators alyve is knowen to be the most peremptory, and befor beeng convented befor the parliament for seditious preaching, and did not now appear befor the Comission, was referred to the Councill, who have appointed him to be cited; some ministers of Fyfe who were presumed to have accession to this paper denying it and beeng enquyred whether if they were injoyned by the Comission in the king's name to keep the meetings in presbytries and synods they would obey, they answeared they were not clear; they also were dismissed, and I ordered to execute the law because of ther contempt. Some people in the west for withdrawing from the churches beeng cited, and two ministers also for ther preaching contrare to law, and not appearing befor the Comission, were decerned to be fyned as the law appoynts[b] and to be cited to hear the liquidation of ther fynes respective again the next meeting of the Comission upon the first tuesday of June; which could not be sooner because of the vacation tym, when the members cannot conveniently come to toun, and my

[a] Alexander Burnet, writing on May 2, 1664, says, "Our proceedings in the Commission and the care we took to —— our fanatique interest made 7 or 8 of our grandees in Glasgow take leave of the country, and make a visit to their distressed brethren in Amsterdam, with purpose not to return till Presbyterianism be rampant."—(Sheldon MSS.)

[b] Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 455.

Lord of Glasgow his going to the west, where he must take some tym to consider upon the place how to manage that hard task he has in hand; the paper I have mentioned is thought to be the contryvance of Mr. Jo. Carstairs, and if it was subscribed by Mr. Ja. Wood when he was not able to wreat, it savoures of an hippocondriack humour which does dispose to varying the mood and temper, as Mr. Wood appeared to other ministers to be differing from what is expressed in that paper. Your Lop. has the sume of what passed in this Comission. If its If its authority be kept up, and if it be really prosecuted by the members intrusted for the ends specifyed, it will prove the most effectuall mean for the quyet of the church, else our distempers will grow upon us; I wish we had cause to say y^{t} all heer who profess to be convinced y^{t} it is high tym to guard against shism were carefull to suppress it; for our part who are church men we can but regrait the neglect, and exoner ourselves when we cannot help it. One thing we find exceedingly prejudiciall to us, the want of the Kings Advocat to advice and assist us in the service of the Comission, and other concernes of the church against the disturbers of the peace of it; I beseech your Lop: to advert to this in tym, else the Kings service and the churches will be at a great loss. Upon Easter Moonday the translation of the Arbp: of Glasgow, and consecration of the Bps. of Aberdean and Orkney were performed at St. Andrews, where the solemnity was honoured with the presence of my Lord Thesaurer, Duke of Hamiltoun, E. of Atholl, Mortoun, Wintoun, Lithgow, Weemys, Kelly, Haddintoun, Levin, Lords, Drummond, Carnegy, Newwark, ... and diverse other persons of quality; we are in this as in all our other concernes very much oblidged to my Lord Thesaurers countenancing of thes, which I beseech your Lop: to take notice of to his M^{aty} and to my Lord of Canterbury, if your Lop: shall think it fitt to send a line to one of these two Bishops whose letter I inclosit in my last to your Lop: it would give them much incouragement. I was this

day in the Castle, wher I did wait upon my Lord of Kelly and the Lyon; to-morrow I shall goe to Fife, where I shall stay till June; all mercy and prosperity attend his M^aty and your Lop: according to the daily prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lo^ps humble oblidged servant,

ST. ANDREWS.

CXVI.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23122, f. 93.]

MY DEAR LORD, Ed. the 14 [14 July 1664.]

My servant arayffid hear last night about eaght acklock at night and ther was great expectasions that hie should have brought his majesties determinasion hou should have bin nominat chanslir[a] which I did uishe had bin determid and dus still that his majestie may not delay; so eminant a pleas dus not du ueall to be vackant amongest us, ffor shour the numbers of pretendirs uill not leisen. I have bin indevorieng to infforme my selff ffrom the redgiester and others uhat yousied to be dun in the taym of vacansie till the king neamid the chanslier, bot thay all say that the pleas uas aluayies filed in a uerie ffyou days exept uhen Spotsuid[b] uas in a manier put out and then the duck of Hamiltun, who thay say uas comisionar ffor the taym, had the cipieng of it; bot I houp the king uill nou

[a] Glencairn died May 29 or 30; see 23122, f. 39. The place was not filled up until June 1667, in spite of urgent requests from Rothes, Bellenden, and others, when Rothes was made Chancellor for life. There is no doubt that Sharp tried hard for the place, and great influence was used with Archbishop Sheldon to secure an appointment favourable to the Church. See A. Burnet's letters for June 19 and July 16, 1664, in the Sheldon MSS., in which he urges delay until the Archbishop's interests have been well considered.

[b] Spottiswood.

thinck it ffit to determin, ffor I most agan ashour you it is not ffit uie uant a chanslier. I haue sead so much alreadie that iff I be not condemied ffor my being tu positiff uhich I am shour you uill not, I concloud positifflie that I have sead as much as ceam to my shear,

* * * * *

* * * *

So adeoue,

R.

CXVII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 143.]

My dear Lord, Ed. the 8 of Sep. [1664.]

I have had a complent from my Lord of glescou of the parieshe of Macklien,[a] an eminent pleas becaus of the batill that uas on the mur; ther insolensies hes bin great so as to reffyous the minester Lodgieng, and not alouieng the bells to be rnng, and uhen a stranger did ring, non uold cum to the surthe, bot did scould and threatien the ministear, so as the counsiell is resolvied upon my reporting of this busines to send tuo of ther number, your brother Hatun[b] being on, to tray the treouth and to punieshe, and thay ar to have a comision just as thos that uer sent to Killcubrie, bot thay ar not to go fram this till the bishup cum hear otheruas thay should mis him, for hie is to be in toun on Munday or Tyousday to atend the comision and things shall be ordried acording to his aduays. I shall say no mor, bot I am your oun

Rothes.

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[a] The "batill" referred to was (according to Wodrow) an unprovoked attack by Middleton, when Major-General under the Duke of Hamilton, upon an unarmed company of country people who had met there for religious services.—(Wodrow, vol. i. p. 89.) Baillie gives a different account, and, doubtless, the correct one.—Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 49.

[b] Hon. Charles Maitland, of Haltoun, or Hatton.

CXVIII.—Duke of Argyll to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 166.]

My Lord,

When I came heere I found the country ready to fall in disorder throw theeving on the one hand and some mens endeavoures to have it beleived so on the other hand for reasons you may guesse,[a] and some had hopes y^t^ at my coming I should have given them occation by some action or other to have complained, and so excused ther becoming outlaws. The last fortnight I had severall allarms of randevances and meetings which I gave your Lo: some hint of, which made me looke about me that I mought not faill in what concerned his Ma^ties^ service and the peace of the country wherin every subject that meanes to live orderly is concerned; and I have now found out the bottome of all, which is litle more then what I have hinted to your Lo, at severalls times; some wher your Lo/ is[b] keeps a correspondence heere and strives to keepe up ane interest; my L. Mc Donald and Mc Nachtane[c] are the great agents, but your Lo. may be now confident all shall be quiet doe what they can, and therfor the lesse they be taken notice of the better. Mc Leane and Mc Coull have now promised to come to me and they begine to distrust other, and after this I will know ther least motions. I wish my Lord Treasurer were at home for ther are severall particulares relating to these things that it were fitte he knew that are nether fitte nor usfull to be communicate at this distance. I am promised some letters that are preserved, the most part are destroyed.

Adieu. Sept. 30, [1664].

[Argyll].

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[a] As Rothes elsewhere expresses it, "that they may fish in troubled waters."

[b] The Middleton faction.

[c] See 23119, f. 88[b] *ante*.

CXIX.—Duke of Hamilton to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 187.]

My Lord, Hamilton, 16 No^r. 1664.

By your Lo/ to my wife,[a] I see his Ma^tie is informed that I am grouen remise in the setling of the Church. If I knew particularlie wherein I am said to be so, I could be the more able to make apear how unjustlie I am misrepresented ; & if his Ma^tie wold put the informers to it to condescend (which I humblie beg) it wold then apear how much his Ma^tie is misinformed, & I am wronged, for I am sure I was so far from being remise, that ther was nothing in my pouer, wherein I could promote the setlment of the Church that I did not do, uith all the zeall & sinceritie I could, & did to the hurt of my own privat affairs attend all meetings at Edenb^r, & severall other parts, uhereby I was forced to live above my estat, & so little did I expect to be thuse represented, that I did hope to have had part of that debt now payed uhich his Ma^tie is oueing this famelie, that therby I might be the more inabled to attend his service, for the debt of the famelie is so great,[b] that unles his Ma^tie order the payeing of part of uhat he oues, or alloue me uherupon to attend his service, it is impossible for me to do it so frequentlie as may be it is expected, and if his Ma^tie thinke not fitt at present to do ether, I shall humblie expect from his justice & goodnes, that my not attending may not be otheruays understood then that it is my necessitous condition that forces me to it, for uer my pouer ansuerable to the affection and zeall I have to his service, none

[a] Lauderdale and Moray were on terms of intimacy both with the Duchess and her sister. In the correspondence with Moray they are frequently spoken of as "our two wives."

[b] Hamilton's great object in these years was to restore the shattered fortunes of the family. It will be seen later that with this end in view he secured a collectorship of the taxes with the help of Rothes, who, it was said, was to have half the profits. This narrowness of fortune made him amenable to Lauderdale's discipline. Later on we find Charles, at Lauderdale's instance, reproving him for drunkenness.

should be readier on all occasions to witness it, and for what has been my carrage hitherto, I dare ansuer for itt to have been w^{t} as much loyaltie as those uho has represented me other or any els.

I hope your Lo/ will pardon this trouble, & do me the faver to inform his Ma^{tie} of this, uhereby yow will extreamlie obliidge,

My Lord,

Your Lo/ most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

CXX.—DUCHESS OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23122, f. 189.]

MY LORD, Hamilton, 16 Nov. 1664.

I beleve you will not think it strang that y^{rs} of Octt 20 was something not only to be disapointed when I expected payment of that so just debt, but to be accused when I have said or done nothing can be challenged by any, and for my Lord itt seemes his marying me has made him heir to the same misfortunes of callumnies that my father and uncle had, for tho they sealed there Loyaltie with there blood, yet doth it not preserve there memories from the malice of detracting toungs; but whatever discouragments may be mett with, I hope my familie shall ever be loyall, att that rate becomes the most dutifull of his Maj^{tes} subjects, tho att present only in a capasitie to pray for his happines, for if this debt his Maj^{tie} so long agoe promised satisfactione to were all that had bin contracted for his Royall fathers service, there might have bin some suportment under it, but when that is added which was ingadged in the yeare 48, maks my condition verie disperat, for all my Lords fortune and mine both will not make one thousand pound free over and above what pays the intrest of the debt I am in, and how that will mentaine my Lord att Ed^{tn} and other parts abroad attending his Maj^{ties}

service, and my selfe and familie att home, I leave to any to judge of the possebiletie of it, and beseeches your Lo. may do me the faver to represent all this to his Maj^tie, who I hope will think it reasonable to order the suspending of my payment to the Ex^er of my Eques while such time as I am payed, which since it is not to be presentlie, I intreat you may returne the papers left with you by

My Lord,

Your Lo^ps Most Humbel

Sarvant and Cusen,

HAMILTON.

CXXI.—EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23122, f. 201.]

MY DEAR LORD, Desem. the 2 [1664].

When I wrot my last you might judg by the letier end of it, I uas not ueall setisfayied uith uhat past that day in the comision for surthe afears; to tell you all that past wold turne this letier intu a volum, yeay that I say aniething of it at all is onlie that you may not fansie it to be sumuhat uors then it is, altho I most confes it hes trublid me much, and in the furst pleas I most inform you that our phanaticks as becum much bouldier then thay have bin this tweal-munthe past, and nou uher thay cipt cearslie anie conventickils at all befor, at least so quayitlie thay uear not cnoun of thay du it in the ffilds by hunderids, and verie frequentlie, to prevent which I have sent parties throu the cuntrie uith pritie seuer ordirs such as I could giff, bot I have aluays concloudied that sumuhat from the comision,[a] of seueratie, uold have hindried other persons to fall to such disordirlie worck, bot when it uas proposid I ffound that bothe in the presedent of the sessione,[b] and advocat[c] which I did not

[a] Of church affairs. See 23122, f. 313.

[b] Sir John Gilmour.

[c] Sir John Fletcher.

imagin, for I uold have had sum grounds lead doun by the comisione to be reuils for our punishing of such persons as sedisious who cip conventickills, that so uie might not be put, as uie ar, to spend a day in faynding a shutabell punieshmint to everiemans qualitie and ofens, ispeasilie when thos that cum befor us ar bot baygiers for the most part, and bot tenants at best, so as uie troubell our selffs mor to ffaynd out uays to punieshe them, then all the punishment uie inflick dus the person who is giltie, for bothe thos tuo did affirme uie could not punieshe cipiers of conventickiels as sedisious, becaus the ackt of parliement dus onlie dischearge conuntickills and mensions no sertifficasione, so that the punishmint is arbetrarie, and sins it is so, it uear hard to set doun reviels, sins the ackt of parleament hesnot dun it, bot this did apir verie strange sins the ackt of parlement aganst uithdrauiers which issnot nir so great a craym, dus declear them giltie of punishmint as sedisious persons, bot the treuth is thos things with sum other expresions from them did not sound ueall, and ther is so manie in the comisione to speack on all ocasions for thos who are cald befor us, that thos caynd of pipill hes lost the aue and ffear thay had to cum befor the comisione; nou this uithe fridum I have tould you, bot it is to your selff alon to uhom I speack the verie inmest thoughts of my heart so I expect it will go no ffurdir, and realie I most say that if sum of thos persons who ar in prisun uear out of it I uoldnot be so sequr as I am. Yit I cannot thinck ther could be hasird from Majeour jenerall Montgomrie, bot of what you desayr to be informid conserning him I shall speack with sum of his best frinds, * * * *

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[Rothes.]

CXXII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 229.]

Ed. the last [31 Dec. 1664].

* * * * *

Nou the tearme of paying in the ffayns is veri ner, and ther is bot verie litill apirons of munie, it being so exidinglie cearse in the cindum, the giltie cannot get it, I min sum of them that ar wiling to pay, bot I am infformid ther ar sum that ar resolvid to be stuberne and uill not pay tho thay cnoue the sertifficasion of the ackt of parleament; nou I shall humblie bayg to cnou iff it be his majesties plesieaur I shall put the ackt[a] in exiqusioun, and iff it be not dun the ffayns uill not be uirth a grot ffor everie uan uill stand out. I am so uerie that I cnou not what I am ureating, bot I am to sup with my Lord Santandrus, and shall drinck your helthe. By the nixt I shall say sumuhat of the deuck of Munmuithes busines, bot adiue.

[Rothes.]

CXXIII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 248.]

My dear Lord, Jan. the 21, [166$\frac{4}{5}$].

* * * * *

Nou as to the long letier you urot in ansuir to mayn, you say all that can be sead and I can ad bot litill or nothing to uhat I tould you fformirlie, bot as things ocurs you shall constantlie have them. The ffayns torments me for I ffaynd there ar as I can positifflie ashour you houndrids of baygirs in the list, such as tenants cotiers and ther shipards. Thricor and ten of them ceam to me out of tuo parishis in Stirlin shayr acompanied with ther ministirs, who ar tuo ordirlie conform men, and thay bur testemonie that thay

[a] Of fines.

cnou no gilt that anie of them had upon them, and did declear that thay beliffid thay had not so much ffrie year as to pay the proporsions of ffayns that uear imposid upon them, tho most of them uear bot put tu tuintie pound a peas as to both ffurst and secund moatie.[a] So uhat tormint I am in or what I shall du I suear I cnou not, ffor you cnou I can not help them, and yit sins thay have it not uie cannot expect it du what uie uill; bot as to the secund moatie I shall speack uith the advocat that such a comision may be drauin for trayill of the inosint as may be thought ffit, bot as to the letirs I ureat in ffauers of pipiell iff you pleas noties non of them. This day I was fforst to ureat in ffaver of the Lard of agill, bot I houp nothing uill be doun in it, ffor hie may ueall spear it; the dubill of Mackdonills letiers I shou to my Lord Argayll, and hie did shou me sum other letiers hie had dubils of. Uhat you thinck ffit for me to du pray advays me or geat sum ordir for it, for I thinck the presumpsions ought to be great beffor I seas anie persons or meack opin packiets, bot to tell you troulie the haylinds ar so brockin that I cnou not what to do, tho I du all I can and shall leaff nothing undun. Nou I du not qustion bot you uillbe als uirie riding this as I am a ureating of it, and that is so much that I can say no mor bot bid you adeoue.

[Rothes.]

CXXIV.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23122, f. 313.]

My Lord, March 11th, 1665.

The session beeinge nou enditt, and the most who have in this

[a] All who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines; but the other moiety was forgiven those who took the declaration renouncing the covenant.

wintere session beine imployed, in Councell and Commissions, beeinge to repaire to ther hoomes, I conceaved it ffitte your Lo/ should know what prospect I have off the state off affaires heir, ffor giveinge his Ma^tie ane acompt of my proceedeings, in the discharge of that high trust with which I am honoured, ffor prosecuteing off his Ma^tie's service, As to the matters of the Church, Haveinge spoke with the Bishopes, and most of the Noblemen and gentilemen, who have knowledge off the temper of the pepele in most parts of this kingdoome, I thinke that the defficulties off bringeinge the condition off the church into a good ffram and setelement are not so greate as did apeare. The kings authoritie is held in such regarde, by the generalitie of this kingdoome, as that ffew in ther practise dare venture upon oposition to it. Iff people ffind that the Bishopes eyes are over thos who are disorderly, and provide ffor the planteinge off vaccancies off which I hoop they will be cairffull, and that the executione of the Lawes be vigerously managed by the Commission ffor Church affaires,[a] ffor which end I have beine constantly present at every Meetteinge off the Commissions ffor the concerns of the Church, it is probable that ere it be longe they will be every wher disposed to submission and obedience. And in the west Countrie, wher the oposition was greatest, I am told that the people in many parishes are much taken off ffrom ther untowardnes and withdraweings ffrom ther ministers.[b] When I have notice off any such extravagancies I doe emediatly take such course ffor suppresseinge off it as bringes them under ffeare off ffurthere transgreseinge, when aplications are maid to Councell, Commision,

[a] This commission was appointed at Sharp's instance. See Burnet, i. sect. 206.

[b] Compare with this the following from Lady Margaret Kennedy to Lauderdale for the same date:—"For God's sake endeavour to persuade the King to part with Bishops or I much fear we will all be lost. They are now hated, and hated by all as much as by Presbyterians." (Ballantyne Club Publications.)

or to myselff, in behalff of thes disaffected personns, I take caire they meete with such Intertainement as they may not looke ffor any importunitie or conivance at my handes, I doe verily belive that the discontents heir upon the acompt of Church goverement are not much considerable, tho^t^ iff the ill dispossed ffaction gett a gap to uttere ther discontent, and doe mischeiffe, I thinke the goverment off the church will be maid the pretext. But I trust to hold thes undere a Crub,[a] whose heartes cannot be gained to oune ther dewtie. Diverse off the Bishopes have stayed heir in toune since Januarie, and affter severall meetings amongst themselves they have beine with me, and told me that in regard off the absence off some off ther numbers, who could not com hithere because off the great storme, and upon reasones which doe import his Ma^ties^ service and the good of this church, they cannot desire that the indiction off the Nationall Synod be beffor the letter end off Agust next, which will be represented to your Lo/ be the Archbishop of St. Andrewes, ffor quyeteinge and preventeinge disturbances, which may be raised this sum̃ers in the Highlandes. I have sent ffor, and spoke with the nooblemen and some heades off Clannes, & with thos that are of greatist interest ther, and have brought them to that good understandinge among themselves by composseinge off ther mutuall differences and animosities, and takeinge ingagements ffrom the most considerable and active amongst them, to use ther utemoste endeavors ffor represseing off roberies and preserveing the publicke peace, only I most tell you that after all the paines taken ffor composseing the difference betwixt Malcolmtosh and Lochyell: wee ffind the breach so wyde betwixt them, that it was impossibill ffor us bringe it to any apearance off a satisffieinge cloose, yet I am not att all aprehensive, it will be in the pover off any to cause any sturrs ther, which were to be ffeared. I have allso so disposed off the horse and ffoote which are under pay, and ordered the setleinge

[a] curb.

off intelligence, ffrom all places off the kingdoome, as any mutonious motiones or dissingnes can hardly esceap my tymouse noticeinge and caire of prevention. But I shall at this tyme lengthen out your trowble no ffurthere then subscribe my selff

My lord,

Your humble servante,

ROTHES.

[N.B.—Only *signed* by Rothes.]

CXXV.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23122, f. 317.]

MY DEAR LORD, March, the 11 [1665.]

I most acnoulidg a streang surpraysill uhen I reseved your tuo letiers of the 4 instant,[a] bot I did imediatlie call thos togeather as I tell you in my other letier, and my Lord Argayll being just going out of toun I shou him your letier, and uold have had him stay, bot his business uas presing, and hie tould me injenuaslie that in his opinion it uas almost imposibell ffor this cingdum to reas munie, and altho I du not ureat so positifflie in my other letier[b] because it may be you most shou it to his Majestie, yit thos I have spock uith is almost of his opinion, the kingdome being so impoverished and harieshed uith the leat miserabell trubells and ribelieons that our

[a] Containing Charles's instructions that money was to be raised for support of more troops, and the promise of a large supply of arms and ammunition "from beyond sea."

[b] See two preceding letters, which should be compared as well as Tweeddale's following. There was a third letter of same date, which I have not thought necessary to include. In his letter of the 23rd March (f. 349) he says: "As I houp to be seavied, this countrie is so exoustid that they are not in a capacitie to du anything as tu munie, bot God help us." The money raised by the fines was finally used for the purpose, to the angry disappointment of the broken cavaliers, for whose relief it had been intended. Burnet says (i. sect. 214) that this was at Sharp's suggestion.

povertie is not to be expresied, and at this taym ther is more giffin to his Majestie then ever uas beffor by fortie thousand pound[a] besayd the other great burthiens that ar nou exackting, such as the bygon imposisions during the trubells, the rests of taxasions grandid thertie yirs sins uhich deuck hamilton is geating up, and then the ffayns, all uhich joaynied uith the lo prays of corns, stop of tred and uant of munie, uith other pretended griffinsis may posiblie ad discontentmints to ther burthiens, bot iff munie be to be resid, sertinlie it is best by a convensione, bot the anlie differans betuixt it and a parleament is that a convension is calied for a sum porticular ackt, and the seam is aluays mensionid in the procklamasion and in the ordirs sent ffor the elexions, at this time it uold be considred as to the present youmirs of the pipill hou such a mesige uold be uelcumied, for the ackt of indemnitie is nou past, uhich was the rod lay over manie heads,[b] and occasionid ther so ffrie consents to the ackt ffor the ffortie thousind pound, and nou ther is a greater ffridum as to the elexion; therfor taym most be alouied and cear teakin that honiest and intrestied persons be chosien, for it may be fearid that all the discontentied persons in the kingdum, tho upon severall grounds and intrests, may joayn to obstruckt reasing of munie eather in the convension by refyousing ther assent tu it, or by uithdrauing, and so randir the miting of les istim, bot ther is an unexpriesabell nesesitie for our having of arms and amonision; if thes uear provaydied the cuntrie wold pay ffor them, and I houp be eabell uith the help of the present fforsies to sequr the cost ageanst the capieriers,[c] bot iff ther be anie aprehensione of greatier dangier

[a] Raised first in 1661 by an excise on beer and ale. The consequent rise in price of beer and ale caused a great fall in price of victual, according to Rothes, and therefore great agricultural distress.

[b] This illustrates the distinction between the English and Scotch restorations. In England the Indemnity Act was passed at once; Charles would not have kept the Crown otherwise. Here he was strong enough to hold it over, *in terrorem*, and as a means of extorting money.

[c] Privateers. 'Capier' (Low German 'Kaper') is the ship, 'Capierer' the person.

and consequentlie the remidis to be greatier, the outhoratie of a parleament uill be nesesarie ; bot the treouth is I dunot apriehend much that anie uill ofir to land, ffor iff thay should intend it uith a small number it behuffid to be in sum remot pleas of the cost uher ther plundir uold be uerie inconsiderabell, and to offir to land a considerabill number I cnou not uhat advantag thay could expeckt, bot it may be the king hes informasions of ther intensions which may meack mor forsis abshulatlie nesesarie, bot iff ther be a nesesatie of it pray leat me cnou particularlie uhat the king uill expeckt, and god almightie cnous I shall yous my indevors, tho aleas, aleas it will be the hardiest tasck that evir I undertuck; bot pray be ffrie uithe me, and upon your returne to this evrie thing shall be gon about that I am eabell, So adeoue.

[ROTHES.]

CXXVI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23122, f. 340.]

MY DEAR LORD, Both: Merch 20, 1665.

Yours of the 9 I receaved not befor the 16th currant, beeing in the country. I heir that my Lord Comiss: callid the Arch: B: & Glacow, the president of the Sessione the Register and Advocat, and comunicat thos letters wherof I suppose your Lop: hes Ansuer long befor this, a returne being expectid from you this week. Argile was going out of toun that day, and dind with my Lord Comiss: And, as Seaforth tels me[a] was not desird to stay till ther meeting in the afternoune, bot I have wrott to him : To the purpose itself I am very unable to offer ane opinione, bot that I will say any thing to yow: I humbly conceave the conditione of the country at present to be such throught the want of trade, the low pricis of all the native

[a] Seaforth or Rothes was clearly lying. See last letter.

comodities, especialy corns, and the extream want of money, that if his Ma^ties^ reputatione be not concernid, if any Inwasione fall out, all the hazard of affront or prejudic the country could suffer uer better adventurd by far, then a taxe imposid, how mean and qualifyed soever: and how a standing forc uill be able to secure so larg a coast yow may jud, for a militia as ther is England (if feasible) it uold ask noe charge, bot to prowide arms, bot how they ar to be trustid, yow uold also consider: If at present ther uer a competent Magazine of Arms and amunitione providid, uhich might be disposid of in several placis of the country as Edenbrught cast. Denottar & som other furder north and in Orkney: and if the foot which ar now at Glascow and westward uer callid for and distributid in companys upon the coast to serve for a head to the country to draw to incase of inwasion; and that on of the troups of horse uer sent to the other sid of Tay, the other suppliing this coast and Fife: this uer to doe somuhat. And for the uest country I hope they might be trustid soe long as possibly uold putt ane end to the war, or to aprehensions of this nature. Thos uho pres his Ma^tie^ that this country may contribute doe not or at least uill not consider uhat it suffers already ther greatest & readiest trading beeing uith Holland and never opind with England till now that it can not be mead us of, soe that bloking up is in proportione to its ability as much as all the preparations for the war is to the pour & uealth of England. Our hazard is greater, and I am sur they intend us noe profit how succesful soever the war be. Bot his Ma^ties^ honour and greatnes beeing concernid, I think ue should streach beyond our pour & put all to staik, and if he think it nesesary a taxe be levied, I know noe better then the way that your Lo/ proposes by a conventione, and of 30 or 40 shilling upon the pound land. Of other particulars by the nixt. Adiew.

[TWEEDDALE.]

CXXVII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 1.]

My dear Lord, Apr. the 2 [1665].

* * * * *

and as to the uay of disarming the uast it is thought the best and smuthiest uay to du it by caling in the earms in other Loland shayrs as is proposied in his Majesties letier . . . . . tho sertanlie the proporsions of earms that ar uill be verie inconsiderabell, and most ar judgied to be in the ffyouiears and tenants hands, uhich you cnou ar so numerus in that cuntrie as uold randier a searthe utierlie imposabell, ispecalie uhen it is not to be suposied bot that a pistull or tuo at most or a gun is the ffurthest extent of on of ther magasiens; bot I most bayg to cnou iff sourds be mint by uhen you speack of arms. It is thought that uold be sumuhat tu sevear, bot as I am comandid I shall obaye. I am apoynting randivousies of all the fforsies uher tha lay severalie and dischearging all fforloffies that the inconsiderall small number uie have may be aluays readie, bot aleas a hunder men out of thrie castiells and ffour ueack cumpanies of ffut[a] gos verie for, but his Majesties camands ar positif, so shourlie shall be obayed. I have appoyntied the counsiell day on couperreas day,[b] so unuilling am I to delay, I uas the thrie last days of last wick out of toun at huntieng, bot uhen I shall geat anie mor God cnous, so adeau my dear Lord.

There is a neou comieat[c] apieriead hear, and I sat up this night till thrie in the morning, and sie it much brightier than the last; it raysies touards the north-east, and bends a spidie course estuar . . .

[a] In February, 1665, Alex. Burnet writes—"All the forces out of Edinburgh, Stirling, & Dumbarton, are but 600 horse & foot; all the arms and amunition would not provide 600 more" (Sheldon MSS.) "This disarming of the west" seems to have been as much to get a supply of arms as for anything else.

[b] Cupar Race, I interpret this to be.

[c] Cf. Wodrow, p. 421

the tell of it is of a prodigie [ous?] lenthe, and verie bright. I remember you urot to me conserning the last, and therefor I did resolve to prevent you as to this.

CXXVIII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 16.]

My dear Lord, Apr. the 13 [1665].

I tould you I uold wreat ffrillie to you, and indid I intend it so, but onlie to your selff, for iff misfortuns apir to be at hand it is sertinlie a satisfaxion, tho thay should be inevitabell, yit to regreat them, ispesiallie to on uho ulll be particularlie consernid, thereffor I most bayg your allouiens to regreat the present aspeckt I have of affears as they represent them selffs to my ueack and unskillffull apprehensione, uie in this cingdum ar willffull, proud, and nesiesitus eivin to begerie,[a] so consequentlie a tickliesh pipiell to deall uithe, and the onlie defficultie that hes bin proposid all allonge hes bin the satillmint of episcopasie, uhich I thinck I may uith justies say is nou in so ffear a uay, I min by pipells resolving to submit, that a verie litill taym uill randir bothe oposiers and uithdrauiers verie insignifficant, but aleas as busines is just satling upon the drage this dangarus nesesitie of caling a convension[b] hes ocouried, the affeckts of uhich God onlie cnous, the kingdum is pur, bot ffor that it may be sead the sum is small, uhich is verie treoue, it uill be

[a] Cf. Burnet to Sheldon for Feb. 5, 1666. Sheldon MSS. "The least commotion in England or Ireland or encouragement from foreigners abroad would certainly engage us in a new rebellion. We are too much of a French temper, apt to pursue anything that is new with vehemency and heat, but a little time cooleth our courage and taketh off our fiery edge. Our discontents ere many, our povertie great, it is impossible for his Majesty to satisfy our desires and our necessitous condition maketh us apt to catch at everything." "As his M's difficulties grow with foreigners abroad, so our discontents rise higher at home."

[b] In order to obtain supplies for the Dutch war.

bot litill that uill cum to the king, bot the convensions coming together and the ingeatherieng of the taxasione uill dubell the proporsions of uhat cums to the King, bot my greatiest aprehensione is that at this juncktur of taym ther should be such a multitud of pipill cald togeather from all the severall corniers of the kingdum, and no dout the waysiest men in it . . . . [so?] as it giffs operteunatie to eivill youmirs not onlie to worck bot groue, for uhen discontentid pipill [a] mit togeather everie uans regreats to other hightins ther resentmimts, uhither it be by persons that hes bin punishied, or by such as hes bin disapoyntied in ther expectasions, uhich I ashour you is allmost an epedimicall diseas over this kingdum, so as uhen thay ar all met togeather, the jeneralities being apt anuff to be prayied upon by anie cunieng, witie mutanier uho uill meack ffear proffessions, and promis muche, uhat inconveninsies then can be imajenied that discontend and ffollie maynot prodeus, houp to geat aniething of the taxasione thay can have non, for thay uill evidentlie sie that thes fforts [b] and the garisuns in Sheatland uill exoust all, which to tell you treulie ther is as much grumbling at, and als jenerall a dissatisfaxione uithe as can be immajenied, for everie uan conclouds it uill signiffay nothing, and iff it should it uill be to ingland, not at all to this kingdum, and hou to geat munie to provayd materiealls ffor the bilding the ffortes and to provayd thos that ar to go, God is my witnes, I cnou not, bot uhat is in my pour I shall du chirffulie. Nou what to propos as a rimadie to guv us at present and to prevent ffurdier inshouieng danger I cnou not, ffor the nesesities condision of a great peart, iff not of all the most emenint persons in this kingdum randers it imposibell to satisfay them anie uay bot by giffing them, to prevent ther present

[a] Sharp writing to Sheldon at this date says, "Those ill-disposed persons have too much matter to work upon by the poverty and discontent of many of our nobility and gentry."

[b] These forts were built against the Dutch. Later on a letter says, "The Shetlanders are all for the Dutch."

reouien and suplie ther presing nesisities, and hou impossibell that is jud by the other representasions you have had of our condision the treuthe of which sertinlie you du not question; onlie this hint I most ad, the custums cums to litill or nothing this yir, and the exays is exoustied, as I belliff my Lord balantin hes shoun you; then hou is it imajenabell that I can pay munic uhen the king draus preseps; for my peart sins I cnou no uay hou to du it, I cnou no remadie bot to represent it. The munie that can be resid by an convension cannot be expectied till a considerabell taym effter the tearme of martimis, and eiven then it most as I supos go as to the provisione of earms, of uhich uie stand streandglie in nid, for all tho uie ar about the sesing of the earms in the wast uhich I beliff will be verie insignifficant, bothe as to the number and goodnes,[a] yet it is verie hard that thos uho uie cnou to be ueall affecktied should have nothing bot ther nealls to deffend them selffs; bot the King in his uisdum uill provayd ffor that, and as hie hes comandid dissaffecktied pipiells earms to be seised on, so I most in ffridum declear to you that iff, as god fforbid, his majestie should not have that uishied for sucksess at sie uhich uie not onlie houp ffor bot expectes, I du beliff a verie litill inuitasion uold muff our disaffecktied pipiell to stur upon anie spesieous pretens,[b] therffor I should humblie bayg that his majestie wold giff me ordir, that in ceas of anie aparant dangier I may sequr anie of them or alls manie of them as I du expect dangier[c] or hasierd from, and I houp I shall not meack yous of it bot in ceas of nesesatie; this you may propos to his majestie iff you thinck fitt and manadg it accordinglie, I uill have no delayt to persequt anie bodie, bot in ceas of nesesitie nothing most be stud

[a] See on this also Burnet to Sheldon, April 18, 1665. Sheldon MSS.

[b] Sharp also, writing in this month to Sheldon, says, "If there be a rubb (with the Dutch) we must expect to meet with greater difficulties and danger than is imagined." Sheldon MSS.

[c] Burnet is more thorough, and urges the securing of all leading persons, likely to bear ill-will, before the fleet engage. Burnet to Sheldon, April 18, 1665. Sheldon MSS.

upon, and I du ashour you ther ar manie hous affexion eivin to the King and kinglie guffiermint I du verie much question. Nou as to the ffayns I cnou you have bin expeckting of a long taym to hear sum uhat of them ffrom me uhich you had or now iff the mosion of a convensione had not intervened . . . . . of it I did . . . . . my ain thoughts to offier to you that the King may consider iff it be not fitt that all cear may be teackien ffor the ingeathring of the ffayns, and that ther be no disposill of them till conuinsion pas, that so everie ons expectasions may prodeus a hertie complaisiens uith uhat his majestie shall propos, but iff the King du not [aprove . . .?] becaus of the delay, I shall upon your ffurst advertismint giff my humbiell aduays as to the disposiell of them. I have so great a desayr to cnou uhat in reson may be expectied as to the war and the present steat of the kings affears, that I uold ernistlie intreat you to ureat ffrillie concerning it, and uhen anie eonsiderabell neoues such as the event of a ffeght cums[a] ffor gods seack dispath a fflayieng packiet, ffor uhen newes ar good the ffurst cnoulidg of them is great satisfaxion, and iff bad it is an great advantage, ffor mor can then be dun in an our that ther effter may cost a great deall of trubill, and it may be pruff unprackticabell. This senslies letier uill teack up a great deall of your taym to rid, bot I houp you uill pardon the lenthe of it, and, as I tould you in the begining of it that it was to your selff alon, so you may be shour it is not to be mead cnoun nor anie part of it to anie hear, bot to all the world that I am your humbell servant,

R.

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[a] On June 3, Lauderdale wrote that the fleets were engaged, and Rothes at once got ready to secure all suspected persons. The list of those secured when the time came (June, '66) is in Wodrow.

CXXIX.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23123. f. 40.]

My dear Lord, Ed. May the tenthe [1665.]

You have aluays bin my ffeathffull, caynd and uirthie ffrind; and ther is nothing speacks more of treu ffrindship then ffrie aduaysies, and I am shour ther is no cretur aptier to be aduaysied by anie mortall then I am, and eveir shall be by you. As ffor that unuirthie report my enimis resies of my drincking or countinansieng of it, realie I shall not say, bot I shall be mor strickt and uarie hirefter then I have bin; bot as to my oun cariedg, iff anie mortall uill say thay have sin me in disordir I shall giff them my isteatt, I min sins I uas in this stasione, ffor you cnou I have bin in my layff taym; bot ffor my Lord Neuburch and sum tayms sum others, thay uill go a greatier lenthe then ever I did, or I am shour shall apruff of bie in uhos hous or cumpanie thay uill, and that I du not delayt in sum of ther cumpanies shour you verie verie veall enou, and I am verie sensibell thay ar non of my frinds, so as ffor this report iff it have reachied my dear mastiers ears. I am verie unhappie iff it be beliffied, ffor I houp to du him betier servies then can redilie be performid by a person giltie of so beas a uays. Pray, my dear dear Lord, leat me cnou iff the King hes heard anie such thing, for it trubbells me verie muche, and be so just to me as to judg me most sensibell of the ffaver you have dun me by your ffridum, all I shall say it is dun layck my Lord Lauderdaiell, and that is layck the best ffrind in the

[a] This letter is interesting when read by the light of one from Margaret Kennedy to Lauderdale for March 11, 1665. "I hear R. is in high snuffe when any word is insinuate of his obligation to L., and denyes it: he is so to none but to the king's friendship, nor does he doubt that the king hath more kindness than for you—so sure R. is to stand only on his own leg." I have no doubt whatever, from Lauderdale's action in similar cases, that this reproof for drunkenness was only a gentle pull on the checkstrings. For Rothes' drinking habits, see Burnet. See letter CXIX., Note [h], and 23125, f. 112.

world. I have bin this thrie days in this toun at counsill, and thought by this post to have giffin my humbell and ffrie aduays conserning the ffayns, bot I have had such a croud of busines as it is not posibell, bot in a day or tuo you shall have it, therefor pray forgif me uho am most perfayllie yours,

[Rothes.]

CXXX.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 42.]

My dear Lord, May 13th, 1665.

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I am still sorie the busines of tred should reseuffe so manie delays, and sins it is the Salt busines that meacks it stick, I should judg it betier to leat the busines go on, cum of the salt uhat will, then that uie should remen in the ceas that uie ar in, layck as iff uie uear besedgied, ffor in no pleas in the wholl world have uie anie comiers[a] at this taym, and munie dus grou daylie cearsier so as in a short taym there uill I beliff be non, and I am shour litill or non to pay pensions, and iff the king wold dischearge all pensions ffor a yir pipill uold not be ffrustrat, ffor nou thay expeckt uhen it is not, exeptieng the offisirs of steat, and evien in that I shall ffaynd deffi-culties almost invinsibell, ffor God is my witnes I cannot geat munie to aduns noyn munthies pay to the garision in Shealand, bot I most I belliff this nixt wick giff sequratie, uhich I shall neffir ref[fus] uhen the king's particular services requayrs it, bot all the world shall never meack me du it for the paymint of pensions, bot uhen I sie effidentlie hou I may be reliffid, and as my good caynd Lord dumffermlieng nothing can be in my pour that I uold not du ffor him, bot aleas, uhen I cannot comand ten pound from the reseviers and cnous thay have it not, uhat can I du, shour I shall geat the bleam, bot god cnous I du not deserffe it, and ffor my part

[a] commerce.

I uishe the condisione of the exchackier in Scotland uear printied provayding it uear onlie to be sin and cknoun by Scotsmen, that our povertie might not be bleasied throu the world. It is no uinder I be in sum pasione uhen I am on this subjeeke, ffor I beliff I have and shall in all apiriens begeat mor heatried and malies to my selff in this cuntrie then I shall be eabell to bear, bot I shall du my best, and it is in the services of my dear mastier, so I cear not uhat becum of your ffeathffull frind and servant

R.

CXXXI.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 58.]

My dear Lord, May the 22 [1665].

I can giff no other account of the busill that was in the wast churthe,[a] then I tould you in my last, bot that effter all the trayill and strick searthe I can meack I ffaynd no bodie ingadgied in it, bot boayies[b] and ffanatieck shumackiers and ther wayffs and printiesies, and this day I beliff ther ar severalls of them set on the pilarie, and others of them to be scurdgied throu the toun on Munday, and as mor of the busines dus apier mor shall be punishid. Ther is an jediane murie who hes bilt a ship ffor tuintie guns of purpos to be a capier,[c] who most ernastlie baygs a comision, and the man himselff uold have it under the King's hand or the deucks. Pray heast it doun iff you can convenientlie, ffor it will incuriedg him. So adeaue.

[Rothes.]

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[a] "How handsomely they begin to stone ministers even at the gates of Edinburgh under my L[d] Comm[rs] nose." Burnet to Sheldon, May 22, 1665. Sheldon MSS. See also Wodrow, i. p. 422.

[b] Boors.

[c] See p. 211, note [c].

CXXXII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 60.]

My dear Lord, *n. d.* [the summer of 1665.]

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the last miting uee had hear conserning disarming the wast did all unanimuslie resolfe that it should onlie be dun in the wast and not by caling in the arms ouer the cingdum, and the chiff reasons uear that the cuntrie uold be apt to misunderstand it, and sins it wold carie anie thing of disobligasione along uith it, it uas sertinlie the betier the ffyouier shayrs uear consernid, so as it is onlie in ear, ranthraie,[a] galluay, dumbartin, and clidsdeall, exept cintayr, which is a nest of cneaffs, the severall shayrs ar just nou a serthieng uith the horse and ffutt and everie partie hes eather the shiriff of the shayr along uith him or the most considerabell person in it. Sum acount I gave you of this befor, bot sins I uas not shour if it uas ffull anuff I have nou I houp dun it; uhen the acount cum in I shall giff you noties uhat thay cum tu, bot I due expect uie shall geat verie ffyou and inconsiderabell earms;[b] bot, my dear Lord, poar uill suffer me to say no mor bot adeoue.

[Rothes.]

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[a] Ayr, Renfrew.

[b] Sharp and Burnet, writing to Sheldon, scout the idea of a mere disarming being of use.

CXXXIII.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 69.]

My dear Lord, Jun 10th, 1665.

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I have ffound sum letiers of inteliigens going ffrom this to Holland to Mr. Treall under a borouied neam,[a] and hes alalonge hed an ay upon them, bot uithe much to du I nou have ffound uho geave them in to the post and so hes treasied them to cum ffrom Trayls wayff uho I have myselff examinid and shie haveing tould me to my ffeas that shie wold acous no bodie, nor uold not tell me aniething ffrom uhom shie eather recevid letiers to send to hir husband or tu whom hir husband wrot. I have comited hir clos prisoner and shall have it out iff shie uear damd. On of the letiers I have her sent you the dubell of, by which you will sie thay giff a streang acount of all that is dun hear, and such intelligens as may be of prejudease verimuche uhatever may be thought of me that I may be neglejent as to the dispathe.

[Rothes.]

CXXXIV.—Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 100.]

My dear Lord, Julay the 1 [1665].

Ther uas shuch a croud of busines in counsill last day that I nather could be alouied taym to ureat uithe my Lord of Glescoue nor by the post, my Lord tuck jurnie yisterday morning,[b] and I supos uill be uithe you asse sun as this, uho uill aquant you uith

[a] Wodrow, i. p. 433, understates the case.

[b] The alliance between Rothes and the two Archbishops is now cordial. Burnet writing to Sheldon in February says, "My L[d] Commiss[r] pretends great readiness to do whatever my L[d] S[r] Andrews and I advyse him."

all I can say bothe in relasione to the consernmints of surthe and steat. Hie is a breaff uirthie honiest jentillman, and I beliff als ffeathffull an honiest ffrind and servant to you as to anie subjeckt; uie have tackt ffrilie of manie severall businesies, and ther is on thing ue ar much deaffied uith the noays of hear, uhich is by severals you wold not thinck of, ffeard. verie much, iff not positiffiie bellieffied, uhich is that the king dus intend to meack my Lord Midiltun Chanslier; that you ought and uill du your indevor to prevent it, I do not questione and I houp most sucksesfulie tu iff ther be anie such dessyn in hand, yit in my opinion ther can be no uay so hansum and sequr as giff his Majestie wold ffill the pleas, I am shour it wold damp all the spirits of that jenerasione of catill, and uith resun tu, ffor sertinlie thay can have no other rasionall houp; bot, lay asayd all that considerasione I dear positifflie asert nothing could so much isteablishe and sequr the peas and quayiet of the surthe as iff the king wold be plesied to pith on my Lord Santandrus ffor the dischearge of that imploaymint.[a] Manie severall argumints I have yousied uith my Lord of glescoue in this business, uho uill tack them ffrillie uith you, and acording as you tuo sshall thinck ffit so manadg the busines, ffor it is of vast consermint bothe to the king, peas and quayiet of the kingdum, and good manadgmint of it, and I am shour of infinit advantage to you and us all.

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[a] On Sept. 4, 1665, Burnet writes from Salisbury, "The K. hath not yet nominated a chancellor, but told me that he thought the person whom I recommended to him would prove the fittest. I find, though he be Lauderdale's kinsman, he (L) doth not at all relish it; but I feare doth what he can to stifle any such motion, which obligeth me to assure y^{r} Lordship that if either my L S^{t} Andrews or he be not preferred to that charge our friends who are already much discouraged will in a short tyme be utterly destroyed." Sheldon MSS.

CXXXV.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 130.] [a]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 19 July, 1665.

Yesterday, after the receipt of His Maj^ties letter, my Lord Commissioner did call some of the counsell & the officers of state, to whom His Grace did impart His Maj^ties pleasure as to the money to be raised by the Convention, great debates wer, whether by taxation in the old way, or by sess as in tyme of the rebellion, which is both contrarie to law & to His Maj^ties promise in Parliament, when the yearlie annuitie of 40,000 lib wes granted to his Maj^tie. My Lord Prymat, being for the way of sess,[b] hath joyned with the west countrie lords and others ther, and at this present Dumfreece and he are seriouslie consulting about it. It is generallie believed heir that the good old ways of taxation wes proposed by yor/ Lop/, and upon that accompt will be vigorouslie opposed, that a slurr may be putt upon yow by carying of it on by way of sess, which, if so resolved on, I feare may cause much division & heate at the Convention, which lyke eneugh may be a desygne of some, rather then to carye on the busienes with quyet and satisfaction to the countrie. This bearer brings two reports, the one for the old way of taxation, the other for the sess. Duke Hamilton is upon this accompt most gracious to the Bishop, & onlie in this particular for my Lord Primat's dissatisfaction against him in all other maters hath constantlie appeared. What is more to be sayd in this mater, yor/ Lop/ will receive it from my Lord Commissioner, & sure I am that E: Tweeddaill will wryte clearlie to yow about it. * *

[Only *signed*.] Bellenden.

[a] This letter, compared with that which follows, shows the absence of harmony between the views of Rothes, Lord Treasurer, and his deputy, Bellenden. Bellenden urges one method which he knows Lauderdale favours, and notes the fact that Sharp is caballing with Dumfries, one of the Billeting faction, against it: while Rothes urges the other, and implores Lauderdale to make Sharp chancellor.

[b] 'Cess' was land-tax, simply; a 'taxation' had a wider range and might be laid on cattle, produce, and other sorts of property. The Church always bore a heavy share of taxations.

CXXXVI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23123, f. 133.]

My dear Lord, Julay the 19 [1665].

This busines as to the uay of laying on uhat monie shall be resid has prodeusied tuo verie long papiers, and had thay had taym I beliff thay wold have been volums, bot uhat ever uay the king thincks ffitiest you ar shour I uill pershoue, bot to yourselff I most acnoulidg the uay of taxasione to me dus apir most unequall bothe as to the surthe and as to the vast countrie, yay I may say it uill I beliff reuin bothe, and I ffaynd the ssurthe conserne them selffs mor then I did imajen uhen I urot my last, and as to the ingethring of uhat munie shall be lead on, being dun by the uay of taxe, uill meack it imposibell, and on the other hand ther ar strong resons aganst the uay of ses, yit as to the equalitie I most think it mor so then the uay of tax, bot the inabilatie of the kingdum is beyont expresion, and I du say it to you beffor God iff uie be thus blockied up from tread long, ther uill not be munie to paye in the exayes, and iff the kings expectasions ffrom this convension be anie hayier then the ffortie shiling scots upon the pound land I shall never be eabell to carie it, or in and abut that sum ffor tuo munthes ses is just a thousand pound mor and in that uay iff the munie be in Scotland it uill cum in, but if the king expeckt tuintie thousand or eaghttin eather upon the discheargieng of the ffayns, altho I uishe it als much as anie bodie, yit it uill be betier to leat them lay on, then to expeckt an imposabilatie ffrom the convensione everie day prodeusing evedentlie neow demonstrasions of our exesiff poffirtie; bot my dear Lord uhat his Majestie will du as to thos uho hes bin sad suffierers, and uho ar eabell still to serve his majestie uill be of great advantage; bot I am from my hert sorie that the busines in uhich I humblie conseve ther is so much advantage to the peas and tranckquill of this pur cuntrie should stick, ffor as it uold evedintlie advanse the satillment of the surthe,

so the ffiling the pleas uold remuff vean houps; bot I shall not repeat what I sead beffor, and uhatsoever the king shall thinck ffit I shall concloud best. I always fforgot to tell you that I du not cnow uhat is my Lord Dumffris earent[a] to this cuntrie; manie pipill hes several conjeckturs, bot I can sie no desayn brecking out as yit, bot I supos I shall observe so sun as hie begins to apir in his licknes.

ROTHES.

CXXXVII.—LORD BALCARRES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.[b]

[23123, f. 201.]

MY LORD, Octo. 9, 1665.

I know I have no merit of my owne to make your Lo/ doe any thing for me, so it must be meerly your goodnes must make you have any care of me. Its told were I a man I must take my sword in my hand and begin, but that troubles me not so much as the troubele I see my mother in for me: If your Lo/ will be plesed to bee so good to remember me to the King's Mātie/ who I hear promised my mother samwhat, which if shee gett it I will look opon it as given to me. If God make me a man worthy to serve your Lo/ you shal find me dedicat my self to your service nixt to that of my prince. I ame more wayes then one oblidged to be,

My Lord,

Your most humbel servant,

BALCARRES.

CXXXVIII.—LORD BELLENDEN TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23123, f. 212].

MY DEAR LORD, Edinburgh, Octob. 24, 1665.

* * * * * * *

By your last you wer pleased to take notice not to have heard from me since Mr. Mackie parted last from this, which I doe

[a] *See* Burnet, vol. i. p. 213.

[b] *See* Letter CXIII. This one is preceded by a touching appeal from his mother. The family were at length relieved in January, 1666.

acknowledge to be trueth, yet my silence did not proceed from a lessening of my respects to you, butt for want of such occurrences as might reasonablie give you that trouble. In all publict maters I doe conceive it most fitt not to repeate what is sayd or ought to be said by My L[d] Commissioner; the reputation and thanks due for his actings shall never be eclipsed by my too busie scrybling, wishing with all my heart (if possible) a further increase of His Maj[ties] favour to him, and confidence in him, which I am confident will be assisted, as it hath beene, by your constant friendship. Mais pour l'archevec cet un person que ie ne sorrois comprander. Dieu nous guard de son esprit malign, c'il ariv iames d'ete noster guard du soe ie crein[a] que son avancement cosira de grand disorder ici. De gras soulagé[b] moi de cet apprehension car cela me don trop souvent de palpitation de ceur . . . . . .

[Bellenden].

CXXXIX.—The Earl of Kincardine to James Sharp the Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

[23123, f. 220.][c]

May it please your Grace, Nov[r] 6, 1665.

The great respect I beare your high function hath made me

[a] S'il arrive jamais d'être notre garde du sceau je crains.

[b] De grace soulagez. Bellenden's hatred of Sharp now begins to find keen though scarcely intelligible expression.

[c] It was shortly before this that the breach between Lauderdale and Sharp, related by Burnet (vol. i. p. 212), had taken place. Kincardine was in Lauderdale's confidence. This accounts for these letters finding their way to the latter. The cause of them was, apparently, that the Prelates were trying violent measures, that Kincardine, with others of Lauderdale's party, opposed them, and that Sharp had thereupon charged him with being a friend to the enemies of the Church.

Sharp's reply is an admirable example of his usual mixture of bluster and dissimulation. On Sept. 4, 1665, Alexander Burnet, writing to Sheldon from Salisbury, says: "Your Grace seeth that by Lauderdale & Sir R. Moray and their emissaries all Scots affairs are managed here, & their correspondents in Scotland are Argyle, Tweeddale, Kincairne, Crawford, &c., and, if they can draw in my L. Commr. by this match between the Earl of Loudun and his niece, I am confident not a person in Scotland will have the confidence to contradict or oppose them."

hitherto forbeare showing yow the just resentments I might have had of the injuries you have been doing me long ere I was suspecting it of your hand; but now that they are come to that height as to endevour the giving his Ma^tie bad impressions of me I thinke I may be allowed to breake silence. For since the maine designe of my lyfe has been to serve his Ma^tie with zeale & faithfullnes his displeasur wold be to me of all things in the world the most insuportable; and now being toutched in this point I hope I may be pardoned to expostulat with a freedom beyond ordinar. And therefor I must tell your Grace that of all men I thought I hade least reason to exspeckt that by yow I should be represented to the King as disloyall or wanting that due respect I owe to any thing that is his Ma^ties pleasur. Yow haue knoune me of a long tyme & with great familiarity, & yow have knoune me in the worst of tymes how freely I hazarded both sword and gallow & the losse of my fortune for his Ma^tie, and how that throu the goodnes of God to me I continued to the end without the least staine; when others did take ingadgments to the usurpers, were courting and cajoling Oliver Cromwell,[a] congratulating Richard, owning their authority, and even counseling their friends to commit these villainnies.

And as your Grace has knoune my practice, so I am sure you know my principles lykewise, for I never dissembled them from you. In the point of episcopacy I hope the declarations I have made your Grace of my judgement in it has satisfied yow, since yow have diverse tymes told me they hade, & your Grace may remember that I made advances & wishes to yow for episcopacie when you wold not allow it. Your Grace knows lykewise that I have always been a better subject then to be for a jure divino in the particular forms of church governement; and therfor, unlesse yow thinke me a foole, why should you judge me averse from any forme his Ma^tie ordains? especialy since I have professed to yow that I thinke a wellordered episcopacy the best of governements, & that

[a] *e.g.* Sharp himself.

I judge my self bound in conscience to defend episcopacie with my lyfe & fortune so long as his Ma^tie & the laws are for it, and if your Grace expect more from any Scotishman I am confident yow take wrong measures.

And now, my Lord, after all the knowledge your G^r has hade of me, & after all the proofs I have given of my loyalty, and at a tyme when I was expecting your recommendations according to your promise, to accuse me, & that no lesse then to his Ma^tie upon so slight an occasione as going to a communion in that which I may call my oune parish, I being almost sole heritor of it and patron of it, and it being nixt to that I live in, where I have hade no occasion to receave these three years, & the communion haveing been according to law, and the minister neither under processe nor sensure, give me leave to say it does ill become the character yow beare, for our Saviour prescribs a faire other methode in case of offences, & I am sure your G^r knows that if I hade thought any offence wuld have been taken at it I hade forborne it.

I thinke what I have said of my former carrage, when there was no other incouragement to loyalty but that of a good conscience, & many temptations to the contrair, may be a suffitent evidence of my present inclinations, especialy haveing then no other motive then the duety of a subject to his King. But haveing since these tymes hade opportunities to know his Ma^ties extraordinary personall worth, & since his Ma^ties blessed restauration haveing found so many proofs of his goodnes to me upon all occasions that ever I hade to put it to the test I thinke my self now ingadged in a personall kyndnes for Charles the Second, as I am bound to him by my duety as my prince. And the Searcher of Hearts knows that I am still ready with the old faithfullnes to serve his Ma^tie with my life & fortune against all his enemies either domestique or forraine; so that if your Grace give any character of me not according to this I dare say yow know yow'll do me wrong, & the great God judge

of it: for it is hard for kings to shunne being abused when those of your station dare attempt it, & it is impossible for any man to justefy himself of a thing he knows not he is accused of. I am,

May it please your Grace,

Your most humble servant.

[A *copy* sent by Kincardine to Lauderdale.]

CXL.—James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to the Earl of Kincardine.

[23123, f. 222.]

St. Andrews, Nov^r. 1665.
The day is not marked, but it was written the 10th, & I receaved it the 11th. [Note by Kincardine].

May it please your Lo/,

I have received your large accusation wreatin in such a strain & passion, that as yow do not desyre an answer, so my present busines will not allow me to give it; and therfor I shall only say this, yow have given under your hand a most unjust & causeles accusation in general of a very high nature and consequence against me who yow know I have not done yow wrong; yow best know upon what design yow have done it, when I shall have notice of the particulars of that heavy charge of a person invested with an office yow pretend to bear respect unto, your Lo/ may expect I will be concerned to vindicat my innocency and the dignity of the place the king & the law hath put me into from these audacious imputations, which in justice I suppose yow will not refuse to make good, and therby it will be made appear what cause yow have to fix upon these in my station dareing to attempt the abusing of his sacred Ma^ty.

I am,

Your Lo^ps humble servant,

[The signature *erased*.]

Directed, For the
right hon^bl the
Earle of Kincardin.

This is an exact copie not a point wanting nor differing from the originall.

[A *copy* by Kincardine sent to Lauderdale.]

CXLI.—The Earl of Kincardine to James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

[23123, f. 223].

May it please your Grace, Culros, Nov^r. 14^th^, —65.

My last is no accusation, but a private expostulation, adressed in a privat maner to your self: not seen nor intended to be seen of any other, unlesse urged to it, & then I caire not who shall see it: if your Gr: hade used me in that maner I should have hade no reason to complaine. Nor is it in generall tearmes, for I condeshend upon the particular, your bringing to his Ma^tics^ ears as a crime, with agravating circumstances, my being at the communion of Tollialoun, which I suppose your Gr: will not deny. And for my designe in it, I intend nothing but my owne justification, the vindicating the reputation of one that hath the honour to be a peer and priviecounseler of the kingdome, and the letting your Gr: see that I am not ignorant how I have been dealt with by yow, from whom I once little expected it, and as little deserved it, which makes it the more grivous. But for fixing upon your station the dareing to attempt the abusing his sacred Ma^tie^ is both faire from my thoughts, and contraire to the scope of my letter, which I hope speakes of it with that respect I ought. And I do truely respect it as that to which the Christian, to which the protestant religion oweth so very much. The generall assertion in the end of the letter, whence it seems you wold draw that conclusion, I am sure is for the honour of that station. For

because their piety, & their character, hath rendered them of great credit in the courts of kings certainly when such dare attempt abusing their ears it is more dangerous then from other persons, which can have no other inference, from the words before it, & after it; but that if your Gr: give any character of me to the king, it is lyke his Ma^{tie} may beleve it rather then from other hands and therefore insinuating a desyre that yow wold not do me such an ill office. For that part of my letter being only concerning the asserting of my present inclinations hath nothing to do with the former part, which is expostulatory & concerning my former actions. I am,

May it please your Gr:

Your most humble servant.

[From Kincardin to Abp. Sharp, *copied* by himself.]

CXLII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23123, f. 238.]

My dear Lord, No. the 24.

* * * * * * *

as to the dispositions of the pipill in the cuntrie I dear not say thay ar ueall inclaynd, bot most acnoulidg I thinck thay ar uors then I did imagin, had thay anie operteunatie, I dear not ansuier but I judg it mor then probabell thay wold underteack tho it wear desperat anuff, bot as thay ar I du ashour you I have not the least aprehension of anie furdir trubell from them then ther ciping conventickiels, and prayfit mitings, uhich is tu much and hes of leat bin tu ffreqaunt tho the secret convayns randirs it most defficult to discuffir till they be over, and then they du imediatlie dispers to all corniers of the cuntrie, ther miting pleasies ar most cominlie at the sayd of a mos or at the sayd of a riffir, and thay

[a] This letter should be read for a graphic account of conventicles and the method of treating them.

have ther spays at a distans on all hands uho giff uarning iff anie partie apir, uhich meacks them run, uear the partie never so small, bot the treuth is, the caus of most of this trubell uie reseffe in this caynd is ocasioned by sum outied ministers against uhom bothe counsill and comission hes prosided aganst, and thay have put themselffs in disgays so as uhen thay preathe thay ar in greay clos and long pediuicks, and it is aledgied sum of them preathies in masckes, and thes roges stirs up the uimin so as they are uors than deivils, yay I dear say if it uear not for the uimin[a] uie should have litill trubell uith conventickils or such caynd of stuff, bot ther ar such a ffulith jenerasione of pipill in this cuntrie uho ar so influensied uith ther fanatick uayffs as I thinck uill bring reuin upon them. Nou to prevent all thes trubells I have dispersed partis throu the cuntrie, on of hors I have sent to that renunied pleas Macklien tour, to quartir in the toun of Macklien, and in the neu mils which is nir to it, an other partie bot of ffut I have sent to ouruien,[b] ther being no ackomodasione for hors in that pleas, and on I am to send to Galaway bothe of horse and fut, uhich I will meack als considerabell as I can, bot I delay it till I speak uith the bishoup, who will be hear this night, and an other partie of hors I send to jedbrue, for in tiffedeall ther ar manie persons als disafeckted as in the uast, and presantlie ther hes bin a great disordir in the porishon of anckrum, thay refyousing to leat the minister cum into the pulpit, bot the persons ar sesid and uill be severlie punishid. Now thos parties I have so dispersid I houp will not onlie prevent thes disordirlie mitings, bot uill eather cathe thos rogieshe ministers, or ffear of them uill cheas them out of the cuntrie. I have bistouied munie upon severall of ther ffaluiers and it shall stand me dear and much peans bot I shall have an hit at sum of them, * *
* * * * * * *

R.

[a] This mention of the women as taking the lead in disaffection occurs frequently, and makes Mause Headrigge a reality.

[b] ?

CXLIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23124, f. 101.]

My Lord, March 20th, 1666.

I am wery sory that the old trad of makinge up stories (or at least of addinge liberalie to them) is not yet given over; but it wer too greatt a hapines ffor me to expect, that ther should be no bodie to missrepresent this poor countrie in generall, and to condeme me perticularlie in my acteings in the station I am in. As to the condition of the countrie, I have fformerlie told you, that in the weest and in some places neir the borders ther has beine some conventicles keeped by persones who were ministers in Irland,[a] and by two or thrie of our oun country men, who were ministers in the shyre of Dumffris. But to sease upon them is allmost impossibill, ffor the on week they will be ffourtie myll ffrom the place wher they will meete the next. But I have now so seperated parties up and doune through all thos shyers,[b] that it will be hard for them to sture and not be catched, and I have heir sent yow the doubill of the instructions which I have given to the officers commandeinge the parties. But allthoght the ffawlte be greatt to keep such disorderly and unlawffull meetings, yet to lett yow sie they nether can nor will make any resistance att the ffrequentest conventicle I have heard of when they were meat upon the toop of a hill, the sheriffes officer beeinge goeing by accident to drive a pound according to the sheriffes order,

[a] For the close connection between Scotch and Irish Presbyterianism, see Reid's *Hist. of Presbyterianism in Ireland.*

[b] Rothes had sent Sir James Turner, whose exactions were the immediate cause of the outbreak. His reports of his own discomfiture, and, later, the trial of his conduct, are in the MSS. This letter shows either Rothes' ignorance of the state of the west, or, more probably, his desire to conceal it. In a previous letter, however, he mentions "on conventickiell cipt in Gallaway wher ther wear abuff a thousand men, and as many of them had sourds and guns as wantied them."

haveinge only two with him, they who were att the conventicle maginede it to be some off the gward, and emediatly dispersed and rune away. Now that it will be possibill absolutly to hinder some distracted pepole ffrom runinge themselves to such inconveniences I dare not say it, but that it will be a worke of tyme. But I will positively say ther is no hazard nor scarcely a posibilitie of any sturreing in this countrie to oppose the esteablished lawes and gowerment off Church and State,[a] and as to the punishement off such as wee ffound gwiltie, ther hes beine no gentillmen beffor us ffor keepeing conventicles, and but on minister taken, who is confyned to Shetland, and ffor the ordinary pepole some of them are sent to Shetland to worke,[b] and some off them scourged throw the wholl towne off Edinburgh, and some of them we have sent to the Barbados, so we could think of no greatter punishements unlese we had hanged them. On thing I am sure of, what is in my pouer to doe shall not be neglected, so ffar as I have either curage or knowledge, though the ffirst off the two be not wery necessary in the goeinge about this affaire. But all shall be done that is in the pouer off,

My Lord,
Your most humble servant,
ROTHES.

CXLIV.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23124, f. 178.]

MY DEAR LORD, Jun the 23.

I have litill to say to you onlie to regreat the strang evill affectednes of our pipill in this countrie, who due rejoays that the du the ar

[a] The Pentland Rebellion took place in November of this year.
[b] At the forts.

not overthroun[a] yeay on the contrarie will beliff no neus bot such as say they had the betier of the last ffeght, mor of this dus nou apir then ever over the whole cingdum, to meack a busiell with them will bot represent us as giff we had sturs hear, and what a noays that uill meaek with you I cnau verie ueall, therfor I shall hould af als long as I can and constantlie giff you an account.

* * * * *

R.

CXLV.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 5.]

To your selff onlie, Julay the 12, 1666.

Your telling me the ffryns was to be disposid of for the resing of fforsis,[b] uas no neus for my lord Neuboro had reported it the last post, tho not as a thing dun bot uhat uold be dun imediatlie, nou uhen I consider this letier is to you I am resoluid to ureat with great ffridum, it is uerie treu this kingdum is uerie nackied of earms and hes no considerabell modalied fforsies to deffend it selff, nather hes the King anie other uay of paying thos hie shall reas bot out of the ffayns, bot aleas uhat shall becum of thos nobellmen and jentillmen uho hes ther standing and ffaling depending upon sum reliff out of them, I can neam you seueralls bot ffor on ther is the Earle of Anandeall uho to my sertin cnoulidg will imediatlie perishe in his ffortune yeay at this uerie nixt tearme, ffor his crediturs hes

[a] Note this frequently expressed sympathy with the Dutch. Holland was the only outlet for Scotch trade.

[b] Burnet says that this was at Sharp's suggestion. It was a terrible blow to the broken Scotch nobles, whose whole hope had rested on the chance of a share in the fines. Dalyell and Drummond took the command at the beginning of August. The forces were raised, ostensibly, to secure Scotland against the Dutch.

onlie speard him on the acount of his expecktasions of reliff out of the ffayns,[a] and ther is the Earle of earlie uhos condisiane uill be alls bad, and I beliff the Earle of athieles is such as hie is ashemied to tell, nou uhat discontents and grudgies ther uill be amongest all sorts of pipill my verie hert blids to expres. I am confident it will imediatlie breck my lord anindaells hert, and then the King lusies uon not onlie a person uhos ffamalie hes suffieried griffus hardships ffor his ffather, bot on uho is bothe eabell and uilling to serffe him selff ffeathffulie, so sins this is a thing nou as it apirs resolvid upon, that such a proporsione of hors and ffut shall be resied by the ffayns I most nids propos to you uith all imajenabell ernistnis that the Earles of Anandeall, Athill, and Earlie, might have sumuhat out of them ffurst. God is my witnes I speack it mirlie out of my afexion to his Majesties servies, ffor iff such men be suffieried to perishe it may be a min to randir others slack in ther deutie iff the King, as God fforbid, should have nesesatie to put all the good affecktions of his subjeck to the teast, litill will du it, and ffor God seack du ffor them, and it uill oblidg them for ever. I ffaynd others uindecats them selffs ffrom hauing anie hand in this alls ueall as you, for my peart I have caried the uholl bleam of resing them, for I have dun it by quartiring,[b] and uas nesesitatt so to du or nevier to have cum the halff of the lenthe, and nothing ever I did hes proqurd me the bleam of the cuntrie beffor, and nou the disapoyntiments of perishing ffrinds uill be lead to our dours, and I shall have all ther complents and regreats ffūrst. Realie I cnou not what to say bot what I ffaynd by the nixt or at anie other taym you shall have an acount of it from your

R.

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[a] The Debtor and Creditor Act ceased to operate after 1664.

[b] In the Militia Act of 1669 Lauderdale carefully left out what he calls "the odious penaltie of quartiring."

CXLVI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 64.]

My dear Lord, Sep. the 6 [1666] at Ed.

Yours of the 4 instant I resevid last night by an expres uith the sad neus of pur unfortunat Londone, aleas my hert blids for it, and uos me for it is a most unsesonabell taym nou uhen his Majestie hes so much at steack, God Almightie help and asist him. Our neu fforsis ar almost all redie, and I du intend to draue the hors togeather this nixt wick, and uith God's asistans nothing shall be uanting that I can du to prevent trubell in this cingdum, bot yisterday the toun of Ed. being at a jenerall muster of all ther men being devaydid in cumpanies, on cumpanie, uhich uas cald the treds youthes, uold nids uhen thay had cum doun in ordir to the Abay clos, and uear draun up befor me, mearthe auay back beffor the marthant youthes, as thay call them, uhich dreu to so great heat, that I being lucking over the uayndou, sie the tuo cumpanies ffront to other and uear layck to joayn in close ffeght uith ther paycks, uhich mead me imediatlie run doun amongst them to prevent mischiff, uhich I did at that taym, bot effter I returnid thay run all auay to the toun, and uhen the provest marthed oith the rest of the cumpanies thay shut the port, bot uhen hie ceam nir thay opnid it, and hie entring, suffrid him to pas pesablie, bot closed in betuixt him and thos near ffaluing, and had a litill scuffill uith ther paycks, and cild on of the young marthints, bot imediatlie the craffts run all auay, the provist pershoud them verie hard, bot sufrid no man so much as draue a sourt or shout a shot, but apasied all, uhich iff thay had not dun spidalie I had sint ruff rediers amongest them, for I had imediatlie bothe hors and ffutt redie; uie in counsell this day ffayned the majestrates hes no bleam at all, bot on the contrarie the counsill thankied them for ther cear, uhich uas indid verie great, and the counsill hes apoyntid ffayff of ther number to tray the busi-

ness, and so uie intend to prosid and to punish sum on of them by deathe iff uie ffaynd a giltie person, for sins on man lies ffalien it is resen an other should for exempells seack, bot all is nou offer as to anie other teumult or ffurdier trubell, so I shall trubell you no mor nou, bot continou Your

R.

CXLVII.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 84.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 22 Septemb. 1666.

This day I intend to be at Bathens, from whence your /Lo^p^/ will understand all that I have to say more to yow, and, tho I have not as yet exprest my weell wishes to the new allyance intended betwixt your /Lo^p^/ & E. Tweeddaill,[a] yet S^r^ Robert Moray can beare me witness how heartily my concurrence went along with it. Le Primat et ancor a vostre opposit, car il a tante de fabriquer un nouvell desein,[b] de quoi le C. de Tw. vous an dira de'avantage. Dieu nous conserve de la malignité de son esprit, car la seurte du Roy et de ces estat ceriont fort en danger c'il avoit l'execution de ces voluntes. Monsieur le Seur intendant m'a doné depuy peu un demonstration ci signalé de sa vertu e constancé d'amitie pour vous que je suis seurpasse tout mes apprehensions vous priant d'avoer autier confiance au lui.

* * * * *

[Bellenden.]

[N.B. not *autogr.*]

[a] The marriage of his daughter and heiress, Mary, to Tweeddale's son, Lord Yester.

[b] Sharp endeavoured to bring about an alliance between Rothes and Middleton. See following letters, and Burnet i. sect. 213, for his discomfiture. To diminish or break down Lauderdale's power was the great object of the Church party.

CXLVIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 88.]

To your selff onllie, Leslie, the 23 of Sep. 1666.

* * * * *

bot to cum to the busines ther his bin verie streang uays teackin to persuad me of your indeffirensie to uoirds me or anie thing that might conserne me. The tendinsie of this discurse I could not bot uerie esalie ffaynd out ispeasiealie having thos continonall pruffs of your cayndes bothe in prayffit and publick, uhich put me perffaytlie upon my gard, bot in short it is proposid to me[a] that I should entir in a strickt ffrindship uith the Earlle of Mideltun and a number of streang proffesions ther uas; bot not to trubell you longer, I sead I had dun the Earle of Mideltun no prejudeas, and I had resevid non ffrom him, and for ought I cnou I uas in ffrindship uith him, bot ffor thos litill prayffit uays I undrstud them not, nor had never practisied them, nor never wolld, and a great deall mor to this purpos I sead.

* * * * *

R.

CXLIX.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 112.]

My dear Lord, Leslie, the 4 of Ock. 1666.

iff you be just to me, which I du not questione, ther is nather rum for anie apologie or preffas to uhat pasies betwixt us, therfor I shall lay both asayd and propos uhat I have to say with the greatiest

[a] By James Sharp.

fridum imajenabell. God cnous I am in a hayier steasione bothe as to honor and intrist then ever I did expeckt, desayr, or propos to my selff, and has had mor ffauer from my dear Mastier then ever I did or could deserffe, and nou it is tuo ffull yiers sins I had the honor to sie his ffeas, and I beliff severall misrepresentasions of me hes reathied his ears. I have bin calld an inffamus drunckierd[a] to him, and I am not ffrie of ffears that I have bin representid as a cretur capobell of dealling [?]; a ffull I belliff sertinlie I have [been ?], bot that I dear not disone; thes things uith manie others I du acknolidg hes begot a verie great desayr in me alls sun as you thinck it advaysibell to ueat upon his majestie. The hasierd of anie fforin invasione is nou over for this yir, otheruays I should be lothe to propos this. The fforsis I intend should be nou implooyied in the wast[b] to drau that stuberne pipiell to giff obedins to the laus, and to ffors them to cnou ther deuties sins that uill not of them selffs. You shall be relesied from anie ffurdier trubell from

Your oune

R.

CL.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 120.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 9th October, 1666.

This day his Majesties letter[c] wes read in counsell showing his dissatisfaction agaynst the contemners of the present setled church

[a] Cf. Letter cxxix.

[b] This was, doubtless, Sharp's design in urging the raising of the forces; though Charles's object was ostensibly only to secure Scotland against attack from Holland. Burnet, i. 214.

[c] See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 15. All heritors and landlords were made answerable for their tenants, and the magistrates of burghs for the inhabitants.

government, the consideration of which wes committed to the Arch Bishops, the Duke of Hamilton, Lords President, Register & Advocat. To-morrow, in the afternoone, the counsell is agayne to meet about it. The disorders in the hyghlands continues still,[a] butt it is hoped that the forces latelie sent thither will quicklie setle those lawless people. By a letter from Earle Tweeddaill I understand of his safe aryvall at Court; doubtles he hath told yow all worth your knowledge to be sayd from this, cet astur ou james[b] quil faut pousser son avancement pour la charge vacant, car l'on et au desespoer ici de apprehension quil ne l'obtien é ne savit pas le moien come quoi l'ampecher; faites vostre dernier effort de pousser cet affair au bout, car y git baucup de vostre reputation é pas moins de vostre seurté. When yo^{r} /Lo^{p}/ is pleased to remember me with a lyne it shall be most acceptable to yours.

Adieu.

[Bellenden.]

[N.B. "Adieu" only in *autogr.* of Bellenden.]

CLI.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 138.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 8th November, 1666.

Least my long silence should be lookt on as a neglect of duetie (which I shall never be guiltie of to your /Lo^{p}/) this is onlie to perswade your beliefe that I am without noyse & without trouble of new protestations as exactlie yours as any that hath a more frequent opportunitie to say many fyne & obliging things to yow. My Lord Commissioner parts from this to morrow, & from him yow will understand all that is to be sayd in publique or privat effairs. My Lord Glasgow hath beene latelie unweell, butt is now

[a] Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 3.

[b] C'est á cette heure on jamais.

on the mending hand. Vous pouves croire pour asseure que l'amitie antre mon principal é l'Archevec et fort rompu[a] car il ne reste antre eus que un civilite exterieur, et mintenaut je trouv mon Principal plus atache a vos interes que james é je n'an dout point de vostre discretion de vous au servier prudament, vous le trouveres d'un cour franc (au tout chose) dir liberament ces cantimans, cet asteur ou james[b] q'il faut ramplir la charge vacant et par la consolider l'amitie antre lui é le Count de Twa.[c] My L[d] Commissioner is loaded at present with so weightie burthens of Church and State that your advyse & concurrence did never come more seasonablie to him. When yow are pleased to honor me with your commands none shall in all things possible more readilie obey then yours.

Adieu.

[Bellenden.]

[N.B. "Adieu" only in *autogr.* of Bellenden.]

CLII.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 147.]

[*Read and burne.*]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, November 17, 1666.

This bearer being sent expreslie to Court I make bold to give yow the trouble of this, not that I have anie thing to add to the late occurrence at Dumfreece more then what the generall letter from the Counsell doeth beare to His Grace. Mais il ariva un rencontre autre l'Archivec e le C. Dumfreece, fort agreable. l'Archivec proposa de tinnier l'afair secret quoi q'il fut desia publié par tout la vile.

[a] See 23125, f. 84, and Burnet, i. 213.

[b] See last letter, Note [e].

[c] The scheme of making Tweeddale Chancellor seems to have been unknown to Burnet.

L'autre repondit q'il y avoit pu d'apparance le fer, parc que la method observé pour tinnier scret les Billoté, quoi que commiss a pu de persons, fut communiqué, e envoye a la Cour avant que la letre du Parliament fut presenté au Roy:[a] ce que pica lautre ci fort que james a este person au ci grand disordre, e il ce broulia tant que de long tamps il ne ce pouvoit remetre, ce que a fait depui rire plusires de bon coure de remarquer sa confusion d'esprit, quoi que vous saves fort bien q'il ne fut de tout culpable[b] de gras ci vous an parles ne me noumes pas a person.

Adieu,

[Bellenden.]

[N.B.—" Adieu " only in *autogr.* of Bellenden.]

CLIII.—Scotch Privy Council to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23128, f. 153.]

May it please your Grace,[c]

The advancement of the rebells towards this place hes occasioned this accompt to be sent to your Gr to be communicated to the King, that his majesty may understand the present condition of affaires so farr as we have learned since our last expresse. The leiutenent generall hath advanced from Glasgow with his forces to Machlen muir upon friday last. Bot ye rebells not staying there did march towards Douglas castle, where they were all Sonday last,

[a] See Letter LIV. and following.

[b] Of giving information about the billeting or of the present disclosure? If the former, it tends to relieve Sharp from the imputation which I have suggested on p. 112, Note [a].

[c] In a letter to Sheldon on Nov. 27, 1666, Burnet says: "Many things in this rising look like a design, but I shall suspect no man." And he expresses his belief that the rebels have acted in correspondence with England and Ireland.

and yesterday we had notice that at eleven a clock in the clock in the fornoon they were at Lanerk, and at night their whole forces were quartered at Torphichen and Bathgate. This morning intelligence was sent us that a party were advanced to Kirklistoun, and having sent out some parties for intelligence wee have since notice that their great body hes march^{d} to Collingtoun and some parties advanced to the eist of Pertland hills, so that in effect this place is surrounded. They report their number to above thrie thousand horse, and their cheif commanders to be Collonell Gray, Leivtenent Collonell Wallace, Major Lermouth, and some others. The leivtenent generall sent one to us from Evandale who left him with his whole forces there upon Sonday at fyve a clock at night, and came yosterday at Eleven a clock in ye fornoon, who told us that he was commandit to give notice that the rebells had shunned to fight, and that he was following them with his forces, bot thought that he could not ingage them bot by advancing with his horses, and since that tyme we have had no intelligence from them. Wee are resolved to stay here and mantane the king's honor and authority with the forces of the toune, and such gentlemen of the neighbour shyres as shall resort to us, that we may discharge our deuties in our stasions, and give all orders that shall be requisit for opposeing this horrid rebellion, in such ane exigent to the hazard of our lyves and fortunes, and what ever shall be the successe at leist to approve our selves as becomes,

May it please your Gr/

Edr. 27 Novem. 1666.

Your Gr/ most humble servants.

[Signatures of Privy Councillors.]

His Grace the Earle of Rothes
His Majesties High Commissioner for Scotland,
London.

CLIV.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 167.]

Edinburgh, 29 November, 1666.

La letre du Councel a Este ecrit par le Register, car le Clerk n'est pas an dat [?] aupre du primat: pour l'amour de Dieu livré nous de cet maleureus et mal intentione person. La letre de Arbruchel vous informera de la condition de Count d'Argil: tache de boneur d'establier nostre estat, ce que vous ne feres james tant ce que le Primat continu de presider au counsel. Pardone moy de vous escrir ci souvant, touchant cet person car vous ne sores estre passe precautione de lui. L'animositie contre le Count d'Argyl et fort racine dans l'esprit de plusiers de Counsel mes taches de le metre dans le confians du Roy car il a de l'esprit de grand puvoer et fort intentione pour la servie de sa Majeste mes opprime par le grand fourb le Primat.

Adieu.

[Bellenden.]

[N.B.—" Adieu " & " Edinburgh " only in *autogr.* of B.]

CLV.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 169.]

Edinburgh, 29th Novemb: 1666.
10 at night.

My deare Lord,

Having writtin to my L^d^ commissioner all that I can say as to this horrid rebellion, I conceive it unfit to trouble yow with repetition of it, what myne doeth not beare will be more fullie holdin furth by the letter from the counsell; one thing I can not omit que l'Archivec parla hier an Counsel que quelque un de nostre nombre avoit ecrit a la cour pour randre redicul quelque passages que sont passe au counsel sens numer person, com quoi cet information et

evanté [a] je ne soroes imaginer mais cilla ne m'ampechera pas de vous dir que lui et la person avec la Nez long [b] le Reg: ont depui 10 jours tinnu counsel jusques a mi nuit. Ce q'il ont fabrique m'est inconnu mais a ce que l'on croit la grand desein et contre le general,[c] qui Dieu merci ce cet garanti par la Bel action de Hier, l'on croit ossi q'ils ont propose antre eus un nouvel changement dans l'estat. Leur desein et ancor ci secret que je ne vous puiss informer que par conjecteur cerve vous on [d] e taches de ramplier la plas vacant au plutot car par la ils seront frustre de leur desein, ci l'amitie antre mon Principal e vous ne tien farm vous coures risque tout dus d'ester perdu e par la la ruin de vos amis an suivera qant vous ecrives au general cans fer mansion [e] des particularites faites lui savoer q'il ce put fier au moy. Adieu,

[BELLENDEN.]

Since wryting of what preceeds Will: Burnet is returned, my care wes not wanting to doe all that could be done on so great a suddaintie for victualling the Castels of Edinburgh & Striviling.

[N.B.—" Adieu " only in *autogr* of B.]

CLVI.—CHARLES MAITLAND OF HALTOWN TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23125, f. 171.]

MY DEAR LORD, [28 Nov.-3 Dec. 1666?]

The alarme off the Whiggs given on Saturday 17 November ye gott accop̃t off. On Saturday morneing we marched from Ed^r^ to

[a] Est éventé = " has got wind."

[b] Alexander Burnet, in all the familiar correspondence with Lauderdale, goes by the nicknames of " Nez Long," and " Longifacies," or " L. F."

[c] Dalyell? I do not understand the illusion.

[d] Servez vous en. [e] Sans faire mention.

Linlithgow, nixt day to Glasgow, nixt day to Kilmarnock, wher our pairtie took thre stragleing Whiggs, by whom wee understood they were past Machlen wher wee arryved nixt night. Ther we gott nottice off ther march toward Lenerk tutching att Evendaill, wher we lay nixt night, from thence nixt day we marched to Lenerk, wher it was my turne to have the foor pairtie. And upon the hill above the Hoorns [Ffoord?] off Clyd w^{t}in a halfe mylne of Lanerk wee discovered the enemies reirgaird off horse lyeing at the heid off the passe on Lanerk syd, and did see ther bodie marching over Lanerk Hill; att that tyme wee gott intelligence thatt they intended to fight us at Lanerk Moor. And so I was comanditt to haltt (efter we had crosed the foord) till the bodie of horse drew neir; soe wee marched alltogether till wee came to Blackwood's hous, a myle be east Lanerk, wher ther is a bridge and a passe. And it is a strange thing thatt such beasts did nott keep thatt ground betuixt the tuo passes, having a towne for intertainementt and a safe retreatt at Blackwood pase. The wholl bodie off horse stood and comanditt ffoott being planted at the passe for retreat to wis[?], we went on thre meills esterward to the Mosplatt and followed the enemies track through tuo moss's almost impassable till we lost? day to returne to our bodie, bott gott never a sight off them; bott on they marched soe verie hard, and our comand being to follow bot tuo meill, we went three till moss separatt us. We lodged att Lanerk all thatt nightt. Nixt day we followed ther track and sex mylls off Lanerk wee understood the enemie to be before us lodging at Bathgett, eleaven mylls ffrom Ed^{r}. We marched from Lanerk to Calder-Torphicens hous thatt night, being Tuisday last 27 instant, wher wee understood the enemie had lodged att Colingtowne and therabouts; the bridge wherof is a strong passe. We marched toward y^{t} same watter off Leith, and crossed att Currie bridge, a mylne be west Colingtowne. Our intention was to have gone up by the hills bewest Brodscrages (wher Crombwell lay) and to have dropped downe on them at Dreghorne, S^{r} Rob^{t} Murrays brothers house.

Bott at Currie we had nottice they were gon by the back off Pentlan Hills. And this made us march straight south to St. Katherine's hope, q[r] our ffoor p̃tie, com̃andit by the E. of Ayrlyes brother ingadged the enemie on the syd off the turnehous hill, which is the westmost greattest and highest off pentlanhills and the tope off it doeth just resemble the tope off Arthur's seatt. The bodie of it is off easter ascent, and hath tuo lower tops pasable to horse. Upon the uppermost stood ther horse, the lowest ther ffoott. Our ffoor p̃tie, being tuentie tuo horse, the third p̃tie of our full forlorne, ingadged ther forlorne off eightie horse and beatt them, though they had the advantage off the ground even to a precipes, killed eight, wheroff a minister, Cruckshank,[a] & a greatt villan, a captain, and ane other captain. We lostt on man off the Duk's troupe and tuo hurtt. On was ours off the g̃rals. We getting nottice off the ingadgmentt march with the wholl horse (our ffoott being tuo myles behind) up a streatt hill beeast, ther hill so straitt y[t] we could hardly keep the seddle. Ther was a glen betuixt us and them, and a great sidlens or precipes, which we behoved to pase iff wee charged them, and wher horse could hardly keepe foott, we drew all up there. And the tuo g̃rall p̃sones Dalziell & Drum̃ond (whos excellent conduct in all this matter I most admeire) fynding this disadvantage we marched doune agane crosed the watter and went up to ane other hill nott soe high be-east and oppositt to them, wher the horse drew up and waited from halfe thre till halfe ffour untill? our ffoott came up. Thence wee marched downe southward toward Losleine and drew up all on the bottom on the south side off the hill wher the enemie stood; this made them draw doune to the skert of ther hill toward us. Our ffoott was in the mid battell, the Kings gaird, com̃issioners troup and L: g̃rall Drum̃onds was on the right wing. The g̃ralls, the Duks Atholls, and Arlyes on the left wing off the ffoott. The engadgmentt begune by a com̃anditt p̃tie off 50 off our right wing off horse, receaved by the rebells by 100 of ther horse: ours did

[a] One of the ministers from Ireland.

gallently, and they stuck in others birse for a quarter off ane hour; and ours being borne by weight from so greatt a precipes they reteired a litle. Our right hand of our right wing charged and forced back the enemie to ther ground and bodie. And they returned unbroken. And by order our left hand off our right wing charged and mad them reill, the right wing off the enemies horse yet not stirring ffrom ther bodie. We on the left hand, seeing a p̃t off our right wing reteire, did p̃nttlie charge the enemies horse on the right wing. And by the tyme we had received ther fyre thos off ther left wing y^{t} were reilling thrust amongst ther oun ffoott disordered them. And tho pressing to assist ther right wing of hors, yet helped to putt ym in confusion. And soe all off them rune for it through the hills, few were killed on the place, about 100. The persuitt lested the length off tuo mylls through hills almost not rydable. And aboutt thre hundered were ther killed as I hear. The aschentt from us to the ground wher they stood was of that presipes y^{t} it were mutch ffor a double horse to ryd up itt, and the hindmost nott to ffall off. Wee ingadged together just att sunsetting, and persewed als along as we had light to distinguish them from us. Will: Murray and I were together the haill tyme off the persuitt. This is all I cane say efter soemutch tryll, only if we had not ingadged ther wee might have followed this ten dayes. The g̃rall p̃sones certanely shewed ther skill mutch. Our ffoott stood for a reserve. Nor could they fyr unles they had killed our men off the horse. The enemie was judged to be noe less then nyntein hundered, wheroff tuelve hundered ffoott, and eight troups off horse.[a] ffour hundered off the ffoott weell armed the rest furnished w^{t} sayzts mounted lyk hedgbills, fforks, and partizans. The halfe off the horse weell armed. I thank God I was untutched, only my horse shott through the ear w^{t} a muskitt ball. This I am sure is a true rela^{o}ne off q^{t} I did see w^{t} my eyes.

This is all y^{t} cane be s^{d} by

[a] Vastly exaggerated; cf. Wodrow.

[N.B.—*Hologr.* from this point.]

My dear Lord,
Yr humble servant,
Ch: Maitland.

[On margin].—What is come off the fugotivis ye shall have hier-after.

Endorsed.—The Historie off the Whig-gamor Road, pro torho[?]
Concluded yn Campo.
A feast for the Devill.
The spot of ground wher the ingadgment was is caled the Yorling grene.[a]
Sume caleth it Gallo Hill.

CLVII.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 175.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 1th December, 1666.

The examination of the prisoners is not yet finished, severall being brought in since ther defeat. The Advocat is preparing ane indytement agaynst manie of them, which will be readie Moonday morning; and they brought to ther tryall before the Justice on tuesday: ther be some of them the most obdurat villains that ever I did see or heard of, the rest simple misled poore people, upon pretence of religion mantayning of the covenant, and the outing of prelats; some of them will doubtles be putt to the torture before they be execute. This afternoone a further discoverie wes made of some more eminent persons that had a hand in this rebellion, then these that were openlie found acters in it; the names of them your Lop/ will fynd in the enclosed paper. This discoverie wes made by the Laird of Bleckstone (second sone to Pollok Maxwell *in margin of letter*), who was with them 24 hours, which did draw much suspicion upon him, & he for his vindication came in hither, informing that the persons named in the title paper had with them

[a] Rullion green.

at least 80 horse, as also that ther wes a meeting at ane other place full als numerous, but upon notice that ther great partie wes defeated they did presentlie disperse. This discoverie hath made the Generall resolve to returne againe to the West. His Excellence is to begin his march thither on Wednesday next. All that could be done for victualling the Castel of Edinburgh upon so sudayne ane alarme wes done ; butter, cheese & meall wes layd in, & malt, beeff and herrings shall be speedilie sent thither. The lyke provision are putt into the Castell of Striviling, proportionallie to the number of that garison, and all this is & must be done upon particular credit, for we have not one farthing money left for dispatch of the most necessarie & urgent occasion, so are we keept emptie handed for supplying that cursed garison of Zetland.

N'esti point d'apparance ancor que nous puicions estre livré de celui qui a usurpé la direction des affaires publique, asseurement ce n'est pas l'inter[et] du Roy de le continuer au cet dignité, e je[crien] fort que sa continuation an cet employ, prod[uira] moves effet au pu de temps, car l'animosite universel et incroyablement grand contre lui, sulage mon esprit au plu tot par la bon nouvel de cet changement car le fardau d'un Prester et trop pisant pour mais epoles.

Adieu.

[Bellenden].

[N.B. "Adieu" only in *autogr.* of Bellenden]

CLVIII.--The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23125, f. 185]

My Lord, Halyroodhouse, 6th Decr. 1666.

To adde to what I informed yow in my last, I being to take journey with the forces the morrow to the west, the Councell has

[a] Rothes had hurt his arm by a fall on his way from England, and was obliged to use a borrowed hand. This accounts for the good spelling.

sent a comissioun, to many noblemen and gentillmen ther, to try and punish such of the rebells as are or can be aprehendid upon the place, which I hope will proceed verie brisklie. This day in councell ther is nyne more of the rebells, that we have ordained imediatlie to goe to tryall, so that nixt weeke they goe to pot. The Councell hes lykwayes this day ordered ther hands who are to be executed the marrow to be sent to Lanerick, and ther to be put up upon the gates and markett place, that being the place wher they did of new swear the League and Covenant. Ther are some prisoners daylie coming in, so that ther ar now in this prisoun house above one hundred and twentie, all of them being only mean beggerlie fellowes, bot stuborne in ther wicked and rebellious way, the most of them declaring ther willingnes to dye for the Covenent, which renders them in my opinion uncapable of mercie. Bot the number being great, and the persouns inconsiderable, I shall intreat to know his Ma^ties^ pleasure, if I shall cause put them all to ther tryall, and so hang them, or if they shall be banished the kingdome, and sent to barbados. This I am pressed to say, by severalls of the Councell, not that I am a wearie of causing hang such rebellious traitors. Colonell Wallace, who was there cheife Comander, is reported imediatlie efter ther defeat to have pressed ane fisher boatt upon the west coast and so is fled to Ireland; bot this is only a report, bot nothing of certaintie yet verie probable, and if I find it trew when I goe to the west I will dispatch ane expresse to my Lord Levtenant of Ireland, in hope he may cease him ther; we find by the furdest we can learne concerning him that was called Goodman, that it was one Mr. Andrew Mackcornock, ane Irish minister, who was active upon the plot in Ireland with Blood; bot, alas, we cannot find him out as yet. The Nonconforme Ministers were cheife comanders amongst them; and the gallantest amongst them, whose name was Crukshanck,[a] receaved the just reward for rebellioun, upon the feild, which is death and

[a] See Note [a], p. 250.

damnã°ne. If manie of the prisoners had bein sowsed, it had been much better, and my trowble would have bein much lesse, yet it was no great wonder many of them had quarter, it being ther constant practise to kneel downe and cry mercie for Chryst's sake. This acompt is all at present your lo^p^ shall receave at present from

Your lo^ps^ most humble servant,

ROTHES.

[N.B. only *signed.*]

CLIX.—GENERAL DALYELL TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23125, f. 189.]

MY LORD,

I heve nothing to ad to my laist. . . . The 200 men for Lord georg Douglas regiment is comandit out, and that ten of the rebells ar to dey the Morou the Comisioner and the forsis ar to marth to the vaist the morou for satlen that cuntray vhith I am confedent is not posible to do vithout the inhabetens be remouet or destroiet pray your Lordship heist us moir airms and bandelirs, and if ve had artikilis it voild contrebuit muth for our regular liven.

My lord I am

Your Lordsh . . . .

Veray hum . . . .

T. DALYELL.

Canegeit the 6th December, 1666.

[N.B.—The letter is destroyed by damp in parts.]

CLX.—GENERAL DALYELL TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23125, f. 124.]

MY LORD,

I resevit your L/ be Heray Makay I kno it var presumtion in me to ofer anay acompt after the Comisioners greis onle this muth

I sal venter to say ther piple vil be no longer queyit then ane ocation ofers. God preserve this land from foren forsis and I houp his maiestes present forsis and loiel subiectis vil be hard a nyoigh for the rebelis, vho I am confedent ar moir numerus than anay ken aprehend for seurels in this pairte ar not fanatikle prinsiplt. My Loird I sal tack the boildnes to subscryue my selfe

Your Lorships

Humble servant,

T. Dalyell.

Gleskou the 9 10^{br}, 1666.

CLXI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.[a]

[23125, f. 199.]

My Lord, Glasgow the 10th of dece^{r}, 1666.

Just now I have receaved the honor of his Ma^{ties} letter and Instructiouns, to which I shall use my uttmost Indeavours to give a positive and strict obedeince, and am verie glad that my resolutiouns in coñing wast sutts so weill with what his Ma^{ties} inclinãnes are to have a speedie and exact tryall of this wofull currsed rebellioun, and altho I find nothing lyke any persouns now in arms in this countrie, yet ther is too aparent Inclinãnes in the generaletie of the people to shelter those villanes from us, who hes Indeavoured to prostrate the honor and Intrest of this poore kingdome. Bot nothing shall be left undone, as to a strict and narrow search for them, and a severe punishing of them, so soon as they are catcht. In order to which, we are entred in Examinãne this day, of such miserable beggerlie prisoners as hes bein snapt up in this place, resolving to

[a] In the letter preceding this Rothes says: "It is not possibell sum of us can be more sever and vayolant aganst thos dogs than I am and has been alredie," and adds that he is using "perffit severatie and spearing non."

make examples of them and others, in severall places of this countrie, and the morrow Levt. Generall Deyell is to march towards Aire with the halfe of the foote, and some horsse, and Major Gñll Drum̄ound is to go to Kilmarnock, with some of the troops, in these severall places to search efter and secure all guiltie persouns, or such as are eminentlie suspected, that so efter I have taken course with those that are heir or can be found I may goe to Aire and those places, acompanied with the Comissioun for tryall, from the Councell, which I told yow of in my last, that ther they may lykwayes receave ther just reward for ther rebellioun, bot I am to stay heir some dayes with a Regiment of foote and ane trowpe. It is my great trowble that I can find so few of the most eminent, such as the cheife officers and villanous ministers, who some informs, tho I doe not much credit it, intended to flie to the borders, or to our owne Highlands, ther to lurke; bot if ther be aniy trueth in the first, I shall not faile to give advertisment to those in com̄and in the North parts of England, and I hope I have prevented ther going to Ireland, all the boatts being stoped, since my com̄ing home, and if they offer to escape wher the Earlle of Annandale and Drumlanerick hes intrest, they will certanlie be catcht, for by there extraordinarie care and diligence[a] they have taken four tymes as many prisoners as all the rest of the kingdome hes done, for they did besett the passes, and ther number was so considerable that, altho all the rebells had gone away unfought, they could have stopt ther passage. When aniy thing of concernement occurs yeu shall receave it by a flying pacquet, and till then yeu shall have a constant acompt from

Your lo^pes most humble servant,

ROTHES.

[a] This zeal is explained by the fact that they were in desperate straits for money and wanted to get the command of troops of horse, a favourite and easy way of making money.

CLXII.—Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 201.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 11th December, 1666.

Yours without date I received on Sunday night from Henrie Mackie, and in obedience to yo[r] commands some of yours & E. Tweeddailles friends are now going to Maistertons[a] to remember the Bryde and Brydegrooms health[b] & all the honorable good companie at the wedding. It is my great misfortune to be distrusted & disesteemed by my Lord Primat; but, being resolved to stand to my justification in all that he shall charge me with, I can not forbear to tell you in plaine soots a litle passage betwixt His Grace and me.[c] After the defeats of the Rebells, I moved in Counsell that ther goods & estates might be secured fer the Kings use, which then wes thought most fit: this I did, not to desyre ther approbation for my securing of them, knowing sufficientlie it wes the right of my place to do so, but to prevent anie mistake that might occurr by proposals from interested persons to persuade the condiscendencie of Counsell in favours of such persons as should be nominat. Next night the Counsell sitting, His Grace did propose that Generall Dalyell might secure these goods & Estates for the Kings use. I told that things of that nature wer to be regulat by direction from Exchequer, & that if we should fynd a necessitie to demand saveguards for the further securing of them, I made no doubt but the Generall wold franklie goe along with the good of His Majesties interest. It wes further prest, but no conclusion made upon it. Late passages betwixt them being considered, it appeared evidentlie

[a] Masterton's Tavern, where consultations over the Billeting conspiracy were held. Mackenzie, p. 89, and Letter LXXXII.

[b] Lord Yester, son of the Earl of Tweeddale, and Lady Mary Maitland, only daughter and heiress of Lauderdale.

[c] This letter gives an admirable account of the endeavour of the Church and military parties to encroach upon the rights of the Exchequer. It probably had much to do with the temporary disgrace of Sharp in the beginning of 1667, for which see Burnet.

that His Grace resolved to wash the General's mouth with Church holie-water. This day 7th night, my Ld Commissioner being aryved, & the Bishop preceeding, he did then move in favours of your Lops Brother, that he might have the securing of the goods & Estate of ore [?] Listone and his two Sones, which I did gentlie[a] oppose, upon the account that the Counsell wes not to make ane incrochment upon the right of Exchequer; however His Grace did synge the waraant, which yor Lop will receive heir inclosed ; yet, being weall satisfied that your brother should receive the satisfaction he desired in the particular, a new warrant wes drawn for my Ld Commissioners hand, by which Halton is enabled fullie to pursue that interest which did much better satisfie your Brother, & wes more for his securitie, then what he had from the Bishops usurped authoritie. Next morning I sent the inclosed order back to His Grace by Sr William Purvess, desyring that he would forbear to make anie such incrochments upon the right of Exchequer, and, meeting accidentallie with him at my Ld Commissioners, I told him the civile message I had sent to him, which put him presentlie in a flame ; his answer wes, that he wold not forbear insisting on the right of Counsell, to which I replyed that they might with more justice appoynt me to call him to accompt for the entries he had received for renewing of leases & for the rents of the Bishoprick & so againe desyred him to desist, for the Exchequer should not lose its right so long as I continued in my present station. This caused much grumbling from him, & I did expect in the afternoon to be complained of at Counsell, for which I wes sufficientlie prepared, but nothing more did follow upon it. I am informed from a very sure hand that he hath quyte to Lieutenent Gen: Drummond his pretension or interest in the abbacie of Inch-chafre. The scope of these desygnes are soone understood,[b] & sure I am that none of these pedanticall wyles hath gained

[a] Bellenden's manner in council is elsewhere described as extremely violent.

[b] *i. e.*, to secure the support of the army for the Church.

him the least interest with any of these persons; he is too well knowin heir to be trusted, what esteeme he hath at Court I know not, but doe conceive it fit that His Majestie may be tymelie informed how unacceptable a person he will be to fill the roume of Chancellar, besydes his incapacitie for it, T. E. G. excepted. I know none butt is more capable in that station to serve His Majestie then he. Pardon this tedious account I give yow, for I cannot doe things by halfes, & now let me trouble yow a litle more by saying something in french. Les consultations antre Luy et le Nez Long a produi nul effet, tout et evanui au fumé, car mon principal luy a randu la respons ci court an toucé q'il a propose, q'il c'et trouvé au bout de son harange e de ces esperances. Le jour que les Rebels ce sont montre proch de cet vil, il estoit dans la plu grand confusion du monde, tantot voulan ce retirer ches luy, tantot a Bervick, tantot ce casher dans un coing prive, q'il ne ce pu pa dire la confusion et timidite de son esprit. Il court un bruit ici que Monsieur de Yester a tmoinge baucub de meprys et incivilite a la Duches de Buccleugh et que vous vous estes interpose pour accommoder l'affair, mes je le consider com un pies de malis e medisanc. My Lord Cochran, amongst other things, will doubtles press his change of holding, his signatur is left with yow by Sir William Purvess; if it be granted, let the signatur be sent to him, that Cochran may performe conditions with him; but if it wer possible it could be stopt, and all signaturs of the lyke natur, it wer most conduceing to His Majesties interest, yet for me I shall obey in things that are thought fit by your Lordship to be done. Adieu.

CLXIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 244.]

My Lord, Glasgow, Decr. 14th, 1666.

Since my comeing to this place I have beine usseinge my utemost endeavor ffor a ffurther discovery of this late rebellion;

but ffindes it much harder then I could have imagined, by reasoune of the unparalleled obdurdnes of all thos whom wee have seased upon, ffor, allthough they sie justice executed against severall of them, and that they have no hoop of lyffe except by discowereing of what they know, and that iff they would doe it I would adwenture to secure them, yet that hes proven hitherto ane uneffectwall mean, and most of thos that I can put to tryall heir are so inconsiderabill petie ffeuares and tennants, that it may be ther blind zeal hes lede them to this misserabille condition, without a ffurther examination of ther asociats then their generall assurances, which were given them constantly upon all orations by thes rebellious trators that have once beine ministers. But of such as wee have prissoners in this place, I belive upon munday or twsday next shall receave ther just reward by publict execution; and, beeing resolved till leave nothing unasayed, I intende to goe the length of Air, ther to try what I can ffind out, and to make exampells of some of the most eminent emediatly ffor the terrour of others, and this is no small trowbll to me, the tyme of the Conventiones meeteing draweing so neir, that I should be ffrom Edinburgh; but I shall make all the hast that possibly I can, and iff beffor my returne I doe not wreate by every post I beege it may not apeare strange, since I will be ffiftie mylls from Edinburgh, and that yow may be assured that if any thinge occure worthie of ane expresse I will send it by the ffleetinge pacquat be Carlyll as the neirest way. I have just now receaved infformation, that some of the most considerabill rebells are gone to Kintyre,[a] ther to lurke ffrom the hand of justice, upon which I have dispatched an expresse to my Lord Argill, ordereing him to search affter them with great cair and severitie, so as I hoop this may prove a mean to have mor of the bussines discowered, ffor unlesse they intended to rune to that place I know not how they could have disposed of themselves, I haveing discharged all passages to Ireland and strick gwardes upon

[a] Rothes elsewhere speaks of "Cintayr" as a "nest of cneaffs."

the sewerall passigis to England, so that if this doe not ffind them out, I may justly conclude they are among our selves in the countrie (which I dare not say but may be probabill enogh, seeing they have a great many ffavorers, and to plead ffor them, which will never be other wayes till the hight of seweritie be ussed against them, and thos that was fformerly ther ministers amonge them removed at the distance apointed by the Act of parliament and Councell, which I ffind allmost non of them have observed, and I beeing resolved to call them beffor the Councell, ffor ther great contempt of the law, ffindes it much desired by some of the Lords of the Clargie, that I should begine with some of the most eminent, and by the Councells seweritie against them ffrighten others of the weakest sort to ther dewtie, which I have condeshended to, and will only sease upon ten or twelffve of thos of most dangerous principales, as shall be represented to me, to be both perverse and active.[a]

My Lord,

Your humble servant,

ROTHES.

CLXIV.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DRUMMOND TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23125, f. 246.]

MY VERY NOBLE AND DEAR LORD,

For God's sake lay it not sore upon me that I wreat so seldome and so imperfectly. Of the ryse of this late rebellione I can give yow no other accowmpt after examynatione of many prisoners but that it seems the preachers at many conventicles had disposed the people to be in radiness to ryse in armes when the opportunytie showld offer, but accidentally as God wowld have itt they brook out about

[a] The rest of this letter urges Lauderdale to ignore the claims of the members of the College of Justice to exemption from taxation as voted by the Convention.

Dumfriess unadvysedly, at which many stumbled and conceaved too much precipitancie in the bussiness and concured not actually, meerly from a prudentiall consideratione; the foolisher sort went on blindly and madly, but if the rebells had stood longer the conspiracie had been strong; how it was crushed your lordship hes heared, and now we ar all busied to glean thes rogues who ar hid in their reteerments; exemples of justice are makeing in diverse places, only the heads and fyrebrands ar ill to be found outt, but I trust wee shall prevent them further rysing. Adieu.

Glasgow, Dec. 14, 1666.

CLXV.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 251.]

My dear Lord, Glagou, the 17 of de: 1666.

* * * * *

Yit I am resolvid to contineu that you may be eabill to giff a clir acount of everie pasidg of our prosedor when eather the King or anie ells dus requayr it, bot by this I have nothing to ad bot that upon tyousday nixt four of the villands will be heangied in this toun; bot nou to your selff, godcnous it is not my inclinasione to be crouall, ispeseallie as to the teacking of layffs, bot on the contrarie I ashour you all thir persons and all that ar of ther opinion ar abshulatlie incorigabell in ther uay, and for teror to them heanging most not be sun giffin over, not that I wolld have such a world as uie have and uill geat of the cominallitie exequt, bot I ffaynd the barbadus dus not in the lest teriffay them, tho thay uill be much better ther then hear; bot, remember I tell it you, thir pipill will never be quayiett till thay be totallie reuinid, and it is not thes damd ffulls uho hes antisipat ther taym of raysing that I min by, it is manie others uho houlds ther heds hayier, yeay most of

thos uho uie cnou in Scotland uho uill not teack the declarasione. It is hard to pruff things tho uie have shroud grounds of suspisions, as for an exempill uie ffaynd the rebell hed gotin the Earle of Loudin's horsies, and uhen uie begin to examin the uay of it uie ffaynd thay ceam a peartie of them and desyrid to be in the hous, uhich at furst hie refyoisid and nidit not have dun wold hie bot have cipt his geat ffast, bot at last thay onlie demandid his horsis, so thay uear letin in and hie wold not giff his horsies, bot sead iff thay tuck them hie could not help it, uhich thay did uithout brecking opin anie durs, and uhen thay uear deffeat tuo of his hors uer sent back to him agan, and on uitnes says hie heard that sum of his servants and tenants had proffried to teack back his hors agan and hie wold not leat them, and all hie did uas to ureat on letter to deuck hamiltun and an other to me upon my returne, just uan thing, that hie uas sorie his indisposisione of bodie did not allou him to ueat upon us; hie his indid bin this tuall munth sick, nou judg iff this be ffear, uie may be shour iff uie have allarums upon our costs of foriners thay uill rays behaynd us, for I dout not bot thay uill be content to joayn uith turcks.

ROTHES.

CLXVI.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23125, f. 255.]

MY DEAR LORD, Air the 20 of De. 1666.

I have bin in this pleas nou tuo days, and I have discuffried verie litill as to the leat rebellione by reson of the prisonars at dufris who I sent for could not be so sun brought as I did imagin by reson of the bad uather; bot tomoru thay will, and if I du not stay my self to sie them trayied I uill liff such as shall, bot the taym of the Conventione draus so nir that I most heasten to Ed

bot altho I thought this cuntrie uer all phanoticks, yett I never did expeckt to have found them so perverse in ther prinsapells, nor so impodend in ther ouning an aversione to giff obedins to the laus and ackts of parleament, for in our ffessies thay say that thay confess them selffs tayed to indevor to cip the cuffinant in all its poynts and thatt thay uill day rather then du anie thing to disoun it; nou thes that oun thes prinsapells ar not onlie of thos ffulithe reabells who hes bin leatlie in earms, bot such uho uear uasier then to ventur ther esteats and layffs in a busines uhich uas so rashlio underteackin, for by the confesions of sum they uear not to have sturd yet for severall munths; and I am her-tillie sorie to tell you that, exept the Earle of Aglintun an his ffamallie, and my Lord cochrin's ffamilie, ther is cearlie on jentillman in this uholl cuntrie to be trustied, and I dear suear not the hundrid person of the cominallitie, and in this condisione is all bewast glescoue; judg iff I have not reson to du uhat I can to gard against an neu busiell. I have bin thincking this day to call in all ther earms under pean of deathe, and to dischearg anie of them to cip horsies abouff ffayf pound uallu; great busills thay meack ffor ther horsies, bot I thinck it best to be dun, for befor the Lord I beliff thay wold joayn uith turcks to feaght aganst the King and his guffernment, and should anie fforiners send uith gilbert car, or sum suthe rouge, ten thousand earms, in a verie fyou days ther uold be pritie men to teack them in ther hands; bot I haip severatie agaynst them, and carfull uathing over them, uill prevent all dangier, uhich I am shur I shall go about uith all the phaculties of my soull. By the nixt post a furdier trubill is intendid you from

Your R.

CLXVII.—General Dalyell to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 267.]

My Lord,

* * * * *

I moist confes I could not heve thoight this cuntray so il prinsiplit as I find tham, and am confedent if foren forsis or armis cum this laind vil all go in Rebelion, and it simis this laist if it had not bein mistymd had bein muth moir terible, and no piple heve vith moir egernes soight after marterdom then thir Roigis to karay thair desyn or deye; mane of the vimen upbraden thair husbends and children for not deyen on the pleis; and that vhith is to me strange to se even thois vho profesis muth for his Maieste so mersefule inclynit to thois damnet crue,

My Lord,

I am your Lorships humble servant,

Dalyell.

Kilmarnok,
the 27 decem[br] 1666.

CLXVIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23125, f. 269.]

My Lord, Halliroodhous, Dec[r] 29th, 1666.

I accknowledge yow have reasoune to wounder at my so longe sillence. But this whole weeke (exccept Crissmas day) I have beine comeinge betwixt Aire and this, it beeinge most desperate travelleinge. Now I shall give you ain accompt of what was our proceedore at Aire after my two dayes disappointement off the prissoners arivall at that place, as I hade apointede them to meete me ther ffrom Dumffris and Killkubright, yet at last they cam in number twentie thrie from Dumffris, and nyne ffrom Killkubright, upon whom

the Commission sate constantly at Air, & affter examination & tryall sentanced aught of them to die ther, two at dumffris and two at urwine, which accordeingly is perfformed; and all thes were such as in the rysse of the bussines was at the takeinge of S^r James turner, and all allonge activly in armes, & in the incounter at pentlaine hills. And, tho they wer off no great qwualitie, yet such as were of dangerous principales, & so put upon all the willanous dessignes. It was provede against some of them that when they were in armes they rudly com to a Church when the minister was preacheing and wounded him twyce in the head and draged him by the goune through the Church, and wssed his readere much at the same rate, constantly raileinge at the Gowerment of the Church as now Established by Law. Most of the rest of the prissoners are still keeped, till such tyme as occasion be ffound ffor the barbadoes, But I cannot give you a positive accompt of ther number, that shall be so disposed upon, in respect the meaner sort of them ar catched every hour, by the soggers, though the ministers and gentillmen who hes beine the principale actors are so much ffavoured by most in the weesterne shyrres, that it is all most impossibill to make the least discovery of them, yet I may say wee are defficient in no meanes or wayes that is possibill to make it effectwall; only on gentillman, my Lord Annandale and dumlendirge[a] seased, who was on of the twentie thrie prissoners sent to dumffris who as yet is the most ingenious prissoner off any qualitie wee have examined, and hes discovered mor of ther dessigne then any. I have sent the dowble off his deposition heir inclosed, with ane other deposition of on who was a servant to that arch willan welsh; and though he be but a wery mean ffellow, both as to persone and partes, the s^d welsh and Mr. Gabriell Simple, ther ffathes haveinge ffailled them, they stood at a distance, and called allowd, with ther hondes stretched out (the wholl tyme of the ingagement) the Great God of Jacob, the Great God of Jacob, not

[a] Drumlanrig.

utereinge on uther silabill, whilst the rest of ther brethren were in action, some under the notione of Captaines, and some Levantes. Ther were some other prissoners that did say beffor ther death that they were not to have made this busshell so soone, but either in March or Aprill next. Certonly they knew mor, but nether hoop of lyffe (which I gave them my selff) nor feare of death could prewaile with them, and to pute them to tortoure, the law does not allow off affter they are sentanced. This beeing Crissmas week I shall adwenture wpon no ffurther accompt, But that I am,

My Lord,

Your ffathfull Servant,

ROTHES.

CLXIX.—THE EARL OF LINLITHGOW TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23126, f. 1.]

MY LORD, Eden^gh, January y^e second, 67.

Having bene this six weeks bygone in the west and south, where y^e parties of horse and foote are quarterd, I thought it my deuty to give your Lo/ ane accompt of all affaires as it stands their. The Lords of his Ma^ties Privie Counsail have bene so carefull in taking course to see y^e horse provided in reasonable proportions of strae, without any prejudice to the country, altho their be great scarsity, q^t I hope neither of the two hes just reason to complaine.[a] The Lords of his Ma^ties treasurie have so well paid both horse and foote that y^e country may expect full payment for q^t they gitt, and if otherwise y^e officers are to answer for it, so y^t I beleeve a litle time will settle all y^e bad humors of disquiet persons.

My Lord,

Your Lo/ most humble servant,

LINLITHGOW.

[a] See letter CLXXIX.

CLXX.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 16.]

My dear Lord, Januarie the 8, 1667.

This day my comisione for this inshuing convensione uas red in counsill and jenerall luftenant drumand admitid to the counsill acording to his Majesties comand; therefter I did report my last instruxione for the procklamasione dischearging earishe catill, uhich is sertinlie most propir to be ishouied out by the counsill, uhich I ffaynd giffs great satisfaxione to all persons, and no dout uill du so in the conuensione. The Kings choays of Deuck Hamiltun presedent,[a] is alls ueall cnoun throu the toun as giff thay had sin it, so uhen I am asckied I put it aff uith ansuiring the king may neam uho hie shall jud most ffit, bot it meacks such worck heir as neuer uas, nothing being the comin discurs bot that, and everie persons conjecktur upon it. Nou I have a great deall to say to you conterning my Lord sant Andrus, for hie hes bin uith me, and I, heating to disembell, tould him plenlie that I had tould the King uhat hie sead to me relating to you, and that hie proposid it to me as cuming from Dumffris, bot that my Lord Dumffris had declearied to me upon his salffasione that his greas propcsied it to him uith all the sircumstansies of it, so sead I sertinlie it uas not ffit for me to consill such a thing from so grasious a mastier as I have, hie is in short streanglie cast doun, yeay loier then the dust. Bot this letier I most shortin and you uill not condem me, considering tomoru the convensione is to mit, and I most say sumuhat tho never so great nonsens; so my dear Lord adeoue, for I most go studie.

[Rothes.]

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[a] In place of James Sharp, who at this time was being unmercifully snubbed.

CLXXI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 24.]

My dear Lord, Januarie the 10, 1667.

Yesterday the convensione met acording to his majesties apoyntmint, and efter my comisione uas red I nemd the deuck of homiltun presedent by his majesties comand. I then presentid his majesties letier, uhich uas no sunier red then most of all the members, ffor them selffs, and in the neam of thos thay representid, did expres ther uillingnes to ventur ther layffs and ffortuns uhensoever his majestie should call them tu it, and at this taym declearied them selffs most uilling to teack uhat burthien upon them that thay ar eabell to bear, and did desayr me to neam a comitie to prepar it ffor them, uhich acordinglie I did, and apoyntid it to mit this afternun, and so adjurnid the convension till tomoru being ffraydie. This efternun the comitie met in the convensione hous, uher I did atend them, and did beffor I uent desayr the members ffurst to ffall upon the neaming the sum thay uold proffir his majestie, and then iff the convensione wold apruff of that sum neamd, the uay of reasing it uas nixt to be considried of: this uas hertillie agried tu by all the comitie ffurst being mustred(?) by honiest Marshiall, and imediatlie ther effter, I having spock withe Argayll, hie neamd the sum to be six thousand pound a munthe ffor a yier, uhich uas nixt secundied by my Lord tilebarne[a] uith great ernestnis, and so by everie person in the hous, ther being about ffiftie on the comitie, uith the greatiest hertines and ernestnis ever I uas a uitnes tu in all the mitinges, or ever sie upon anie ocasione uhatsumever, which I must ackolidg did so reuishe me uith joay that I uas scearslie eabell to returne them his majesties thancks, bot as god is my witnes I uold have indeuried tortur to have had his majestie a uitnes to ther hertie agrieng to uhat could be proposid for his servies and the preservasione of the pur cuntrie. I most ouien it to be ffar beyont anie

[a] Tullibardine.

thing I uer heard or can expres, and I houp tomoru in the convensione thay shall be alls unanimus, bot houever I consevied it ffit ffor me to giff you this acount, uhich is verie ffear ffor tu days siting, that you may aquant his majestie uith it. Bot nou I most tell you I belliff ther uill be great heat as to the uay of laying on the burthien, uhich uas my reson for presing the sums being determinid ffurst ther ar sum uho yit adhear to the uay of taxasione, bot that I thinck uill not du, others ar ffor laying so much upon the munie, sum talcks of pollmunie, and severall other proposills ther ar, bot ffor my peart I am to sing alluays uan song, uhich is that thay may sequrr to the king uhat thay have giffin him. Nou, my dear Lord, I most tell you sumuhat you du not expeck, bot I am shur you uill be plesid uith it, Luftenant jenerall dallyell and I consevied it most abshulatlie nesesarie to send Luftenant generall drumant to ueat upon his majestie and your Lordship uith uhat the convensione shall resolve upon tomorue, and I ashur you, my dear Lord, hie shall carie my thoughts to you as giff I uear speacking to you my selffe, for I cnou you trust him and so du I. Your letiers of the 5(?) instant I have nou resevied by the post, bot shall not adventur by this to lenthien out your trubell anie ffurdier by biting you Adeue.

[Rothes.]

CLXXII.--The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 41.]

Pallace off Halliroodhous,
Janr. 15th, 1667.

My Lord,

His Matie will receave so ffull ane accompt from Levt Genll Drumond of all the proceedings of the Convention (till he went ffrom this) that I will not repeat any thing of that. On Munday by eleven a cloake the Committie meet ffor prepareinge of.bussines, beeing resolved to sit till the eveneinge. In which tyme they

debated much, iff what they hade woted to adwance his Ma^tie ffor the payeinge and raiseinge of fforces shoulld be raissed by a land taxe, or by the rull of mantinance.[a] But it beeinge made apeare houe wnequall and uncertain (iff not unpracticable) the doeinge it by taxation would be, the last was made choyse off without a contrary wote, except ffour; next it was proposed that ther should be retension off on in the hundereth ffor a yeir off all the mony oweing in the countrie; and wery stronge arguments resed, and most perticallarly ffrom thes words in his Ma^tie^s letter; and ffrom what I said in his Ma^ties name, when the letter was read, that his Ma^tie did conffidently expect that all ranks and conditions of men, excepteinge only colledges and hospitalls, will willingly contribute. But, affter a long and hot debate, the major part of the committie woted it out off doors. But they resolve to have ane other pull ffor it, in the convention. Then the debat off poollmony begune, But that was emediately laid assyde by the comittie, and then the Bishops and ministers beeinge taxed was spoke too, wherupon emediatly it was proposed, and seconded by every on off the number, that the Bishopes and all beneficed persouns should pay. But ffor the stipendarie ministers, that was much spoke against, all of them sayeinge, they would rather beare doubell sheares themselves. This I conffes I did not expect, therffor I was put too it what to say, his Ma^ties instructions to me beareinge Archbishopes, Bishopes, and Ministers. But I told them I knew it was his Ma^ties expectation that, to lessen the burdeen upon themselves, all personns, as weell ministers as

[a] Maintenance was a sum raised for the maintenance of the Army. It was voted by the Convention in response to an urgent appeal from the king dated December 27, 1666, in which he says, "We know that the old way by taxations is the most legall, yet we doubt it will take so much tyme in collecting that it cannot answere this exigencie : thairfore we earnestlie recommend it to you to take the most easie and expedite way of raiseing money for this so necessary work." Colleges and hospitals were not obliged to subscribe. This was in addition to £480,000 (Scots) granted by the late Parliament to the king yearly during his life-time, and £133,000 (Scots) granted by the late Convention yearly for five years.

others [should pay ?]; it was said, that benifficed personne, beeing to bear burden, answered that; I told them the other, I suposed, was his Ma^ties oppinion, but that I did blieve, iff his Ma^tie were a wittnes, how passionat they were upon it, to beare burthen ffor them, he would yeeld it. This day the convention meet and spent a long tyme in the debat betwixt taxation and walueation, but ffor all that when the wot cam ther was not sexe for the way off taxation, ffor the Commissioners of the eastern shyres did it only to exoner themselves at ther shyres hands, ffor whom they serve. But when that concerneinge the stependarie ministers cam in, my Lord Kinghorne spok but on word, but he was cryed out upon by the wholl hous, and when it was woted he was singell in his oun oppinion, so I hoop his Ma^tie will not bee offended with me ffor not pressinge it ffurther, the totall beeinge secured, and I haveing said so much, and they notwithstandeing of all being so hot in it. Next it was moved that a poll should be reased, and, allthough it was told them that motione was weaved in the committie, yet they pressed it so hard (the debate lasteinge till just now), it beeing aught a cloack, that they all agried it shoulld be committed againe till the morou. This long accompt sure you will know hes wearyed me affter so long siteing all the day; but I doe resolve, as things passes in the convention, yow shall know them ffrom

My Lord,

Your Lo^ps most humbell servantt,

ROTHES.

[N.B.—Only *signed* by Rothes].

CLXXIII.--THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23126, ff. 51, 52.]

MY DEAR LORD, Jan^r 19^th, 1667.

* * * * *

Nou a uird as to My Lord Sant Andrus, that my resentmints

aganst him or anie bodie ells uho shall indevor to put me at a distans uith you uill run as hay as I am capobell, I persuad my selff you du not questione, and all that muffs me is that in dealing uith him his ordier may be thought to be becum uirisum to his Majestie, uhich bothe you and I cnous the contrar . . of; bot for him hie suears it was dumfris muffied all to him, uhich is denayied by the other to the hayiest of refflexions; bot of that I shall say no mor. My lord tould me to day hie uold go the day or tuo efter the convensione to Sant Andrus. I have nou sertenlie uiried you, so adeue, my dear Lord.

[Rothes.]

The Layion is past all hasierd and the wond pruffs nothing, altho I beliff the intensione uas still to murthier him.
This is to your selff onlie.

CLXXIV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 60.]

After speaking freelie & at lenth with Sheldon here,[a] I find him under verie great pressur that upon representations which upon the greatest perrill he assuredlie undertakes to make appear to be groundles, he should be under the change of his master's favour & want of yours, and positivlie disavowes any tampering with him or any for him [b] who is father-in-law to him [c] who got the ship with the gold and money,[d] & were he admitted to demonstrat this, & that no message wes sent or received neither proposition made, if it did not appear how causleslie in this he hes been injured, of consent he will be content to lye under the loss of what is dearer to

[a] James Sharp. [b] Middleton. [c] Morton.
[d] A foreign ship which came ashore.

him then his life It is grievous to him that the great man here should say he dare not come to you. I find all the inclinations I can desyre that you command the terms for what is past & to come, which upon the word of a Bp. he will inviolable keep, and the litle man's restoration will not be with more constant & true thankfulnes & assured confidence resented. Were he with you he could make it appear that what hes been sayed to you & others wes upon another design then hes been told you, & upon the perrill of all will justifie his innocence as to you. This I hint not from any design he hes of coming to you upon any other accompt then the demonstrating the truth of this & then leaving himself to righteous judg ment, which he will not doubt of in the least from you. I cannot in this way mention all the particulars in this, bot am assured that if you heard all, the work for all the future should be easie & firm, & if so you please any hint to me shall be managed as you order. The masters of the cash here [a] have been at big words, one does not beleev that your new brother [b] can be Ch.

Sheldon I know can appeal to his good freind here that 4 moneth agoe he sayed he wes the fittest of any heir. [c] The officer with you [d] is fixed with his superior officer here,[e] so I hope you will be on guaird & look to yourself, as I assure you they doe & aim to doe. And all this from bound duetie onelie, & if error I whollie leave my self to your mercie.

[Enclosed by William Sharp in his letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, from Edinburgh, 26 Jan. 1667.]

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[a] Rothes and Bellenden. [b] Tweeddale.
[c] But see what Sharp says about Tweeddale to Sheldon. [Sheldon MS.]
[d] Drummond. [e] Rothes? or Dalyell.

CLXXV.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 72.]

Yesternight Sheldon pairted with Him,[a] here after using plain freedom by appealing to his honor & conscience asto the tampering with or for the man[b] I wrot of before, & avowing what he did as to the Lady (which is looked upon as the bottom in pairt upon his syd), bot denyeing what he sayed Sheldon had sayed to his master,[c] I need not say what other passages & professions were by Him, thinking you may have them from him, bot he seems to lay much upon you & ease himself, so this day he is gone over from this in no pett truelie without wreating one lyne, with his brother[d] who is coming to yow, to any with you, & if he will he can fullie tell all his commission to him as to his concern or any other.

He is promised welcome by him who is now with you,[e] & wes wele happed in the fight here which he hes from him who is over the water from you,[f] & that he may get the forfault he sought from you, he moved his brethren for instructions in wreat, & of the Ch. place & apparent vacancies in session, bot all waved, is not to be for your new brothers[g] being Ch. wes plain with Sheldon for his opinion which he had not bot that your brother wes the fittest, & so farr as I can learn He here does not yet please it. It wes sayed Sheldon could not be called to the meeting here upon the last letter because it would not pleas you, however his brother drew the report which he nor no other let Sheldon see or hear of. He promises much to your brother here as to his concern with his competitor about the place of Com. So trye all wele before yow trust, this being my onelie end in all that so farr as I know yow may be upon

[a] Rothes. [b] Middleton.

[c] Cf. Lady Margaret Kennedy (Bannatyne Club Publications). The 'he's' and 'him's' are confusing.

[d] Burnet. [e] Drummond.

[f] Archbishop Sheldon at Lambeth. [g] Tweeddale.

guaiad, and is to your self onelie, for unles you have these things from other hands, if yow seem to know them as from me I shall be rendered useles for any such purpose for the future, bot you are intirlie trusted & relyed upon by

2 Febr. 67.

[The postscript of W. Sharp's letter to Lauderdaill.]

CLXXVI.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 78.]

My dear Lord, Feb. the 9th [1667.]

I have all this taym delayied giffing you an account of the convensions, havieng lead it upon me as ther ernest desayr that I should interpos with his Majestie for an continuans of his ffaver and bountie in suspending the baygon mentinans during the taym of this neu burthing, as hie did in his last letier to the counsiell, which I beliff uas deatied in jun last. I shall ernestlie bayg you may speack to his majestie to proqur such a letier, for it is expecktied by all and will be an incuridgment to manie. Be ffrie with my Lord of Glescou conserning my Lord Santandrus and I am shour so hie uill be uith you. Befor my Lord Santandrus uent hom hie tould me iff I plesied I could satill the surthe; I cheargied him in the king's neam to tell me which uay and sead plenlie if hie did not that hie could not be ansuirabell, bot it had no betier suckses then uhen he yousied to say so fformilie of you and me, and then bring me aff; bot this subieck is not uir thie of spending much taym, this ples is uerie of the chearg they ar at in mentining the rebills uho ar in prison in ordier to ther jurnie for barbadus. I uhishe sum botie or other wold teack them aff of ther hand. Aleas, my good lord

presedent [a] is becum uerie unueall, I ffear an inclinasion touards a pallsie, bot I pray God I be disapoyntied; so adeou, my dear Lord.

[Rothes.]

CLXXVII.—William Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 80.]

The comfort of your answer gives hope of better things, your pairt is not doubted by me, somewhat may be needfull to take off the suspicion of too many that no good is intended by the order, if Sheldon's brother now with you be not fairlie treated this will grow, tho he should be used with freedom & yet warines, that by watchfull observing his way you & yours may be on guaird & then no fear. No more yet from Sheldon, bot his continuance as I left him not doubted.

[From W^m^ Sharp, on a slip enclosed in his letter of 12 Feb. 1667.]

CLXXVIII.—The Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 115.]

My dear Lord, Marthe the 9 [1667.]

Having heard nothing from you by the last, nor ffrom our cusing Drumand, I can have bot verie litill to say, onlie in returne to uhat you tell me in on of yours deatied the 26 of ffeb^ry^ that the king

[a] Hamilton.

had grantid to the erishe ffrie trade uith his enimis, to alls manie ships as my Lord Ormund shall giff pasies tu. Nou iff the layck could be grantid hear, ther uas never so good a worck dun ffor the marthients of this pur kingdome, and in affeckt to all the subieckts in it, bot most particularlie of all to the tresiurie, ffor I belliff, yeay I am shur, it uold dubell our custums. For God seack, iff it be posibell, du it, and the sunier the betier. So I shall say no mor nou bot that I am your

R.

CLXXIX.—Lieutenant-General Drummond to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 145.]

My very noble and dear Lord, Edr Ap. 2, 1667.

The forces, standing in great necessitie of money, had been in a sad conditione, even neer to disorder, if My Lo. Comissioner the Gen. Dalyel and Sr Williame Bruce had not upon their particular creditts and sureties advanced a considerable supply for present releef, for never a marchand heer did grant to furnishe a farthing upon the act of convensione or publick trust (which hes so much formerly been abused in this kingdome), no not upon trible interest. My Lo. Duk Hamylton must also ingadge his ouen fortune for raiseing of 3000 lib. payable out of the taxatione to buy armes and amunitione and alloue a great interest therfor. Money is sparce and no creditt at all, for the people ar unsetled and generally fearfull of a revolutione. Hors meat is every wher wantting and very dear, so that I am to carie 4 troops out off the west presently lest that place should totally be layd wast and bring them to the southe which hes had no burdene hither to and only to get them enterteened untill grass grow, and in the mean tyme be in rediness to

move to any place wher danger may appear. It is [nowadays?] but very sure that strea sels in most places a half a crown and three shillings a thrave. The fyve new levied troops ar ordered to be muustered and receïd in pay at Kirkliston upon the 15 instant; after that must be dispersed to severall quarters wher they can be most usefull and easiest interteened. Now since a place of treating is agreed upon wee have great reasone to expect a peac will follow, albeit the rumorous lyes runs heer of rebellions feared in England and Irland, of the french intentions to invade, and a thousand such forgeries which keeps the people in distractione. My lord, when any glimering of peac or cessatione first appears to you let it fall to us for our directione. Above 60 privateers now at sea, more preparing, wherin ar 5000 men at least, and as your intelligence from abroad runs so give us notice, that wee may order our selves accordingly. Nothing shalbe wanting in our endevours, god willing, to serve his Majestie with diligence and faithfulness; nixt to which it shalbe my study to shew gratitude towards your lo. and your interests, for the great favours receaved; for this end I wish with longing to receave your comands, and have opportunytie to performe all I say with ingeneuytie. Adieu.

[*Holograph* of Lt Gen. W. Drummond.]

CLXXX.—The Earl of Bellenden to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 169.]

My dear Lord, Edinburgh, 18 Aprill, 1667.

One thing I can not omit to tell yow, that yesterday it wes much noticed in counsell the escape of the prisoners at two severall times.[a] The busienes is appoynted to be examined and will be

[a] Probably intentional: Rothes notes the burden the prisoners are to the place in his letter of Feb. 9.

sharplie complained of at court. My Lord Commissioner seemed yesterday to be verie unsatisfied with the tounes misconduct of that busienes, and there slownes in giving him notice of it; how farre it may be brought to reflect upon the Provest I know not. A fin que vostre conduit ver luy soit bien precautioné, cet avijs je croies a propos vous doneer cens m'ammeler aucunimant au ces autré effaires, sulemant dans la Demelé autré luy et Monsieur Thomson je ne me seroies ampechier de favorizer le pover opprimé e j'esper de vous trouver dan le mem cantiment. Adieu.

[Bellenden].

[N.B.—" Adieu " only *autogr.*]

CLXXXI.—General Dalyell to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 205.]

My Loird,

I resevit yours with Richerton's signatur inclosit: all the serves I ken perform is to return your Lordship hertay thankis. I conseve your Lo/ may expect ane acompt of the condition of afairs heir vhith. Tho posible representit otheruayes to you be others, I darsaye this piple sal not be loing out of a Rebelion. The Lenate and Liberte is grantit to the deposit Minesters and Remonstratur crue maikis moist inclyn that vaye as it var doin of desyn on daye to esteblich thair presbetre: vhouis falit this is I kno not, nor sal I studay moir then aprove my selfe a loial subiect to his Maieste and your Lorshipis faithful servant,

T. Dalyell.

Lieth the ij. Maye, 1667.

The namis of the ofesers vants comisions is Antiant Alexander beliay, Cornet John Car quarter maisser to hors, valter Kennaue quarter maister to fuit, [Julian?] valis.

CLXXXII.—The Earl of Tweeddale to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 220.]

Yester, 23 May, 1667.

* * * *

I thank you for all the papers sent; I shal us them discreetly, bot alas that the kings kindnes to poor Scotland is not ueal enought knouen, I shal long to heir uhat he urott, and uold be glad of a command to publish it: for realy if the king doe not openly declair his pleasure that the souldiers shal tak nothing bot uhat they pay for,[a] nether in transient nor local qwarters, the country will be undone befor a formal complaint be mead, for the peopell say how can it reach his ears? ther ar 14 troups and 13 prive councelours comand them and thought the souldiers have Inglish pay they tak german qwarter.

That order anent the pryssis paying custome coms to lait if it look not bakward (which I suppose it may easily), for I trust the hops of that gain is neir ane end. If MR.[b] com befor first of June it uill doe ueal for the 6 is the first meetting of councel.

The Arch bishope of St. Andrews continews ill, and is thought to be yitt in danger; for god sak let not his remowal surpris yow.—Adiew.

[Tweeddale.]

CLXXXIII.—The Earl of Tweeddale to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[23126, f. 226.]

Yester, 27 May, 1667.

The Archbish: passid on Satterday at Hadingtoune; he hes it seams stayd som wher by the way, thought he uold not for the

[a] Rothes writes on May 25: "Ther is so perfayt a hetred betwixt the wast cuntrie, I min the evill affecktid, and the sogiers."

Robert Moray.

letter, a courtesy on gentilman uold not have denyed another. The grase qwarters ar all desingid and the general major is much comendid by his superior officer to be a prittee man, that he hes gon soe dexterously about the bussines that locality is mead pay the souldiery, and that liftid by qwartering in case of deficiency, uhich suplys the troups mor readily then anything the conventione hes donn, yitt it is said the Comissioners Troup hes outdone him, for perthshyre hes capitulat with them to mak them ride of the troubel of locality, & given the 4000^{lib} Scots to provid themselves.

[TWEEDDALE.]

CLXXXIV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23126, f. 232.]

Yester, 28 May, 67.

Yours of the 21 cam ane hour after I had urott and brought me disqwiet I shall not be free of until I heir again, bot I trust in God all shall be ueall & saffe: The news pleas me ueall that the keys shal hing at the right belt,[a] and will doubtles alarume sombody. For God sak hast doun MR now that soe much way is mead, els you may look for a uisite from on or other, if not from the most concerned.[b]

Adieu,

[TWEEDDALE.]

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[a] *i.e.* that Lauderdale is to be Commissioner.

[b] Rothes.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A FEW LETTERS ACCIDENTALLY OVERLOOKED.

Rev. James Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[Add. MS. 4162, f. 46.]

May it please your Lo/ London, Apryll 28, 1657.

That yow were pleasit to take such notice of my sending that litle peece[a] to your L/ it was your own goodnes; though I had not the happines to be much known to your L/. Yet I had bein much wanting in duty had not I caused one of them come to your hands. I must begg pardon y^t^ through my omission your L/ letter should have prevented mine, which ought to have accompanied the sending of that book; the incumbrances of my toylsom imployment putts me upon neglects wherof I have cause to be ashamed: as it was werie refreshing to me, so I knew it would give no small satisfaction to those honest men (whom your Lo/ are pleasit to mention as your fellow prisoners)[b] with ther brethren, to hear of your approbation of that peace and of your testimonie to ther so much opposed and oppressed cause; with which I did acquaint them, and by this poast have ther returne as ther humble acknowledgement of the lords mercy to them evidenced by that fair and free testimonie given by that nobillissimum par professorum to the justice and equity of ther cause, which, as it challenges an high comendation from them, so it will be a witness against those of our countreymen who have turned ther cloack to the other shoulder, complying with

[a] Probably "A True Representation of the Rise, Progress, and State of the Present Divisions of the Church of Scotland." See *Baillie*, vol. iii. pp. 344, 352. Sharp was at this time in London as agent of the Resolutioners, doing his best to counteract the influence of Warriston. Lauderdale was a prisoner in Windsor Castle.

[b] Crawfurd, Sinclair.

[?] to the prejudice of the libertie and credit of their mother church; these are ther words to me, which I hope ere long they will confirme by ther own letter to your lordships, the expectation of which hath made me delay so long the peyment of my acknowledgement of your L/ respects to us and therby incurre further guiltines, which I must leave to your parden. I shall not take up your L/ time by giving yow an account of the necessity of publishing that peece, nor of the intendment of it; nor of the reason of my coming and so long abode in this place nor of the way which hath been taken by the agitators of the remonstrator partye heer for compassing ther ends with the powers; your lo/ by what you have known and heard of these men, ther temper & way and what yow have read of that sad narrative of the state of our Church, have such an wieu of the languishing Church so much traduced at home and abroad, and of the violent wayes of these men, as will render it unnecessary for me to anticipat by wreating what I long by cõmunication coram to offer to yow when the opportunity wished for will allowe me to wait on your Lo/. I shall only say this at present, y^{t} though I apprehend small advantage will be brought to either of us by what the present powers will order in reference to our matters; yet since ther was a necessity for us to speak of our grievances under our oppression, and to answear to the accusations made by that party, we shall with the more peace acquiesce to the lords pleasure towards our poor church, y^{t} we have exonered ourselves, and y^{t} all unbyassed men heir see, y^{t} we are opposed only by slanderous and unjust aspersions by men who are carried with the lust of domination, and can be satisfied with nothing, unless they may have the ruling of the roast in evrything. My lord, whyle your dayes of action were continued what you acted in subserviency to publick ends as the conscience of your sincerity therin must be matter of rejoycing to yow now in these your dayes of suffering, so whatever misunderstandings there have been on either hand, through the judiciall darkning of that

time, yet I am hope full y^t^ there is no sober man, who is truly affectit with the condition of that broken and despised church (now sitting in the dust as a widow whom none looketh after, and of all the sones whom she hath brought forth hath few to take her by the hand) but hath in previous remembrance your cariage in your publick station; and now when your scene is changed, and your honour in acting turned into a glorious suffering for your conscience, countrey, and Christ's church in it, doeth look upon yow as a noble sufferer with her and for her, and are much refreshid by the testimonie you give to that established doctrin and disciplin purchased at no small cost, through your unwearied resolution, patience, and constancie in the house of your affliction; and from this take encouragement also to wait on God till he hath perfected his work in yow & upon yow, and enabled yow to keep fast your integrity against all assaults in claving to duty befor what the world calleth prudence; this rendereth your condition how disadvantagious soever at present in those respects which seem great to low spirited men, yet much more eligible befor the sleeping in a sound skin with unworthines and dishonour before God and man, to such who take honestie and piety to be the only prudence, and that which as to worldly blissednes in the true notion of it hath the peculiar only promise from him, who hath the sole disposing of it. 1 Tim. iv. 8, and vi. 6. I shall not need to suggest to your Lo/ what are the duties and ought to be the improvements of your sore and lengthned sufferings; what I have heard of the lord's dealinge with yow, and by the strain of your letter to me I am made to trust that yow have shared of the blissedness of the man whom God chastiseth and teacheth out of his law, and I am hopefull that as your chastisements have been for your profit, so if yow follow on to know the lord and patiently keep his way, the peaceable fruits of righteousnes will abound by your being thus exercised; what a present advantage doeth the tryall of fayth, 1 Pet. i. 8, bring with it, y^t^ if ther were no more to be reaped by

a sanctified cross, it were enough to cause us subscribe to the truth of "my yoak is easie, my burden light," fayth being activ naturally hath acquiescence and joy in it even in this life, take it but in its meanest office, as it is a trusting God with our temporall well, a full submission not only to the will but the wisedom of God; a resolution that God can chuse for us better than we can chuse for our selves, y^{t} whatever he sends his bitterest potione is fittest for our turnes, and so absolutely better, and even to us (when we see it is his will) more desirable then anything we could have prayed for; when we can comitt ourselves to God's keeping, knowing y^{t} he is able, and referr ourselves to his will, knowing he is good, when we can make a cheerfull resignation of all into his hands with old Eli; it is the Lord, &c. what rest and ease doeth this affoord to the soule, though the earth be removed and the mountains, &c., yet his heart is fixed, his feet standeth fast beleeving in the Lord; he hath gottin a superiority of mind that all the region of meteors cannot disquiet; that *αδιαφορία* indifference, untroubledness, the *μη ποιεῖν*, &c., not making tragicall complaints how tragicall soever his sufferings be, that *γαληνη* serenity & calmnes of mind which your lo/ doeth remember was the great pryse proposed by moralists to wel doing and comely suffering; those boasts, dreams, and wishes of philosophers are now the reality and acquisition of a Christian, which faith only undertaketh to furnish with, a thing so deeply considerable yt one resolveth all the differences of mens estats and fortunes, as well as soules, ther world by felicity and infelicity as well as piety and impiety to proceed from this one fountain; no prince more happy then the peasant as to the present advantages of this life, but as he hath more fayth then he, the spring of our daily misery and sinnes is the *ολιγοπιστια*; faith kept up with a lively hope baracadoes the soule, y^{t} afflictions coming as an armed man get no entry into the spirit; the beleever is the only conquerour of the world, of himself, yea of the tyrant persecutor (whose a doration he hath when he can get none of his mercy) whilst

another is frighted out of his conscience and integrity, is slighted and scorned by him; but the pen runeth extravagantly, forgetting how it is, to whom it wreats, and y^r^for I shall stop with the cordiall wish y^t^ your lo/ may have a large stock of the experiences, y^t^ such a faith, hope, patience, heavenly mindednes doeth yeeld, and a full and abiding impression from those passages wherwith the word of God (without which the best hearted of men sayd he had perished in his affliction) aboundeth, especially that of the 36 of Job, 8, 9, 10, 11 verses, the 37 Psalm thorowout, the 1 Thessal. 2, v. 5, 6, the 10 Heb. fyve last verses, & many such like when made lively to the soule they certifie that truth; great peace have they which love thy law and nothing shall offend them; now y^t^ it may be thus with your lo/ and y^t^ you may be strengthned more and more into all long suffering with joyfulnes is the prayer of

My lord,

Your lo/ most humble servant,

JA: SHARP.

I did according to your lo/ order give your letter with half dosen of the books to the gentleman in Fryday Street.

For, &c.
The Earle of Lawderdaill
in Windsor Castle.

HENRY JERMYN TO SCOTCH LORDS.

[23113, f. 26.]

HE[NRY] JERMYN,

MY LORDS, Paris, March 13, 1649.

I have received your Lordships of the 26 of the last by Mr. Pooly which mentions a former, that yet there is noe newes of; in this I find your Lordships in the same sence and inclinations for the

Queen[a] that yow have soe constantly exprest through the severall difficulties the affaires have beine opprest with ever since your Lordships did begin to travail joyntly with her majesty for their recovery. I have let her see what yow write concerning that particular, and the feares yow have that the counsells yow approve of may not bee taken or soe followed as yow wish, and that if yow had not expected my goeing into Holland, yow would have given me a particular account of the affaires of your nation, and of the thoughts yow have at present in order to them and the kings recovery. I have command from her to make your Lordships this answear, That she does desire yow to believe shee is full of acknowledgments of your respects to her, and of confidence of your unalterable affections for the good of the affaires of the King her sonne; that your Lordships will have your part in the advises and deliberations for the resolutions now to be taken, and the communication from my Lord Biron of her opinions and judgment; that shee does beleive that though in the deliberations there may be difference of sence and judgment, yet when the resolutions shall be taken, the horrid fact committed in England will powerfully unite all good persons in the persuit and improvement of that which shall bee resolved to the ends which wee labour in common for, and that they who may differ in the beleife that the right wayes are not designed will cooperate with the same vigour and affection as if their opinions were complyed with; This is upon the certainty that all men will not agree in the course first to bee followed, not that there is yet, as shee conceaves, any certaine determination taken; but it is the full extent of her wishes, that when there is, whatever it fall out to bee, and with whomsoevers sence it agrees most, the ends of it may bee wedded by others as if were their owne, and shee conjures your Lordships unto this by the memory of him wee have so unfortuneately lost and by all other arguments that may prevail with yow,

[a] It must be remembered that Lauderdale was supposed at this time to be acting strictly in the interests of the Kirk.

and doth expect it from yow with as much confidence as shee desires yow to take of her just acknowledgments of your affections in that wherein shee is most of all other things to be obliged by yow. This with the desiring yow to be remitted to my Lord Biron to bee more particularly informed, is all I have in charge from her; from myself I have onely to say that I esteem it a great misfortune that I cannot wait upon yow at the Hague, and that I am in the just continuance of the respects I have vowed to yow most unfainedly,

My Lords, &c.,

HE: JERMYN.

REV. JAMES SHARP TO THE REV. JAMES WOOD.

[23115, f. 14.]

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, Edinburgh, 9 Jan^ry, 1660 [61].

Yours without date I receaved upon Saturnedayes night; this is the first occasion I had since to send yow a returne, which I would doe at more length but y^t^ I aprehend this will not find yow at St. Andrews, yow may be upon your way to this town. I am sorrie for your pressure of mind, yet I hope the informations which have caused it have not so good ground as they seem to pretend to with yow; that this winter the law could have been made patent it could not be expected, and the Coñittee of Estats did what was in their power, that the prejudices thereby redounding to the universities might be prevented & remedied; I cannot find any cause of suspition that we shall not have a suñer session; I confess I saw no excess of sumptuosness in the solemnities of this parliament for the wronging of God in his interests/, for anything I can yet perceive. By what I have heard from the Lord Coñissionar & other leading persons, I think ther is no purpose to medle with the Church; I beleeve they will not fall upon anything relating to Universities these two or three weeks; when yow come I know yow will find a very favourable welcome from the Lord Coñissionar;

I thought to have come over this week, but that by the Coñissionars coñand I am detained; they pressed me and sent to Mr. Douglass to engadge me to preach before the Parliament the last Lords day, which the foolish fellow hath putt into the diurnall to my trouble: when yow come yow must expect to gett an assault; I do purpose to be at the presbyterie on Weddensday nixt.

Yours in Christ,

JA: SHARP.

For The right reverend Mr. James Wood, Provost of the Old Colledge in St. Andrews.

REV. JAMES SHARP TO THE REV. JAMES WOOD.

[23115, f. 16.]

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I went to my Lord Coñissionar and my Lord Chancellor, whyl they two were alone, and spoke of yow to them, gave them an account of your coming to the Old Colledge, upon what account you gave way to embrace a call to that place, into which yow entred with the consent of the society the concurrance & approbation of the town ministers, and great satisfaction of all the sober ministers of the provence; yow had since managed that charge to the great advantage of that colledg, and the ornament & reputation of the whole University; God had honoured yow to be the prime instrument, in keeping alyve the kings interest both befor & since his expulsion from his kingdomes, and in preserving the doctrin of the Church of Scotland in reference to magistracy from the stain & scandal, which the innovators, our state & church troublers had cast upon it: I spoke more of your deservings of the publick then is fitt for me to tell yourselve; and I beleeve they are so satisfied about yow that yow will find all respect & countenance from them yow can desire: so that I see no cause why you should be troubled at the false aspersions of malicious tongues, which I trust shall not be able to hurt yow; I want not my share of that scourge; the

Lord hath more to doe with yow, and this poor distempered dyspysed church more need of yow, then that yow can be permitted to retire; when yow doe it I am sure to be allowed to follow my resolution of doing it with yow; ther is no awoyding and no fence against such blasts, but patience, and rosolution to contemne them. Since yow resolve to be at St. Andrews upon Weddensday I will excuse your not coming over to pay your respects from the University (as it is fitt yow should doe) till the end of the next week, and I see no hazard by the delay, and it were too much trouble for yow to make a step over & presently returne: I will ask my Lord Coñissionar his leave to come over in the begiñing of the next week for a day or two. I intend to be at St. Andrews upon Weddensday and from thence wait upon yow to Edinburgh. The parliament heer have appoynted the Lords of the Articles,[a] 12 of the nobility, so many of the barons, & also of the burgesses, by them all matters of moment are to be prepared for the parliament; this constitution differs materially from that of old, especially in that they are oblidged once in the week to make report of whatever cometh befor them, which may be debated, & admitted or rejected, as it shall please the parliament; to morrow the parliament doeth sitt when it is thought all acts intrenching upon the king's prerogative will be rescindit; the Coñissionar by his carriage has exceedit the expectations of many for his judgement, dexterity, & moderation, by which he hath gained a very great esteem; yesterday at the meeting of the Article Lords, he gave a very seasonable check unto the motion, and dashed the designe of the high party, who would have all overturned since 38. The king is at Portsmouth with his mother & princes Henrietta upon the journey to France; his Ma/ returns to London this week; it was observed y^{t} never a parliament in England rose with such expressions of joy & satisfaction with a king as this which rose upon the 29 of Decemb. The

[a] In 1663 the constitution of the Articles was again altered by Lauderdale in such a way that they became practically merely a Court of Registry of the King's wishes, independent of Parliament itself. See Letters LXXIX. and LXXXI.

princes royall dyed of the meazills, but after she was bollened [a] they found all her noble parts consumed. I scrible to yow I know not what, pardon the haste & confusednes of

Your very loving brother to serve yow,

JA: SHARP.

Edinburgh, Jary 10, 1661.

EDINBURGH MINISTERS TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23116, f. 76.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Though we be verie unwilling to trouble your Lp̃, and loath to give occasion to any to look upon us as men of contention; yet we see not how we shall satisfie our owne consciences if we doe not expresse our sense of the feared change of our religious enjoyments. Your Lp̃ knoweth as well as any what assurances we had to the contrary, which were most acceptable & refreshfull to the ministerie of this Church, and did prevent their more early testifying in their stations, against what appearances they found of an intended change. Now we are dailie informed that there is a reall purpose of a change, which, if it should prove true, cannot but grievously afflict the spirits of good people, as we doubt not but your Lp̃ hath heard of before this tyme. Were they seeking any alteration of what they enjoy in matters of Religion, we conceive it might be obnoxious to misconstruction; but when it hath been often professed (and that seriously, as the searcher of hearts knoweth) that they desire no more but the continuance of what they enjoy, and that they may witnes how subservient their Church-government will prove to the interests of lawfull authority, your Lp̃ will easily consider what is most expedient to be done in such a case. We doe still assure ourselves that his Sacred Majestie will not endeavour any change, at least without so much as hearing Ministers of the

[a] *Anglice* swelled.

Gospell to speak for themselves. And though while Church judicatories are (diverse of them) raised, they cannot have opportunity to declare themselves, nor know they how to have accesse otherwise to expresse their mynds, and they resolve not to be disorderly in gathering attestations from all corners; and for our parts, though we purpose not to act without our sphere, yet we have adventured (for our own exoneration) to assure your Lp̃ that, to our best observation & knowledge, the generality of Church judicatories are against a change of our Government; and though, as matters stand, they see not how to get this so publikely declared as it may reach his Matie,[a] yet we apprehend it will be found true by their sufferings if a change shall be pressed upon them. We have taken the boldness to acquaint your Lp̃ with our condition, that yow may be pleased (as God shall direct yow) to interpose with his Matie to deale tenderly in a bussines which so neerly concerns honest men in conscience, that his good people may be allowed in quietnes to enjoy what they have in matters of religion; which by the grace of God shall be managed to the advancment of his glorie and kingdome, and the good and furtherance of his Maties interests according to our bounden dewtie. And if his Matie think it fitting to hear any of the Ministers who are for the government of this Church, it is not to be doubted but they will be able to offer sufficient reasons to his Matie for the continuance of the government of this Church. We recommend your Lp̃ to the conduct & guiding of God, and are

My Lord,

Your Lops̃ humble servants,

David Dickson.
Mr. Robert Douglass.
Mr James Hamiltoun.
Mr. J[ohn] Smith.
Mr. Thomas Garven.
G[eorge] Hutchesone.

Edinb: 4th June, 1661.

[a] See Note to Letter xiii.

[23117, f. 11.]

INSTRUCTIONS as to CHURCH AFFAIRES unto JOHNE EARL OF MID'LTOUN our Comissioner to our Parliament of Scotland.

CHARLES R.

1. His Mãtie being firmlie resolved that the honour authoritie and dignitie of his three estates of Parliament in his kingdome of Scotland, according to the ancient and fundamentall constitution thereof, shall be restored and maintained in their integretie, without any alteration or diminition, yow are to take caire that the estate of Bishops as the spirituall and first estate be restored at the nixt session of our Parlt in als ample manier as formerlie, in the reignes of our royall grandfayther and fayther. And that according to the Act of Parliament 1584, it be declared treasone for any of our subjects to presume to impunge the dignitie and authoritie, or to procure the innovation or diminition of the power of the said three estaits or any of them.

2. That the Archbishops and Bishops be restored to ther ancient and accustomed dignities privileges and jurisdictions, especiallie the jurisdiction of Comissariots and receaving of the coattes of testaments, which are to be payed to them as formerlie, and therfor our will is that the 28 Act of this present parlt dischairging the coattes of testaments be rescinded and that the 6 Act of the parlt 1609 be ratified and confirmed, which gives to Archbishops and Bishops the Comissariots, the nomination of clerks and all other under officers, the confirmation and coattes of testaments nominating and appoynting the ffour Comisse's of Edr as is therin contained, provyded the present Comisse's ther clerks and fiscalls continue in ther places, unlesse for insufficiencie or misdemeanor's they be legallie putt out.

3. That no act guift or deid passed by whatsoever authoritie since the interruption of the government in the year 1637 to the prejudice of the rights superiorities, rents possessions and privileges,

perteining to the severall Bishopricks stand valid or in force, bot that the Bishops presented by us may have ther clame right and possession for the year 1661 and all years following to whatsoever wes possest or might have beine possest legallie be ther predicessoʳs, and that notwᵗstanding what hes beine done to the prejudice and infringing of the right and superiorities formerlie belonging to them by any donation to colleges, churches, ministers, or any other persons since the year 1637.

4. That notice be taken of thos ministers and other persons who shall preach or act to the prejudice of the government of the Church and the Bishops appoynted by us, especiallie of those ministers who live at Cathedrall Churches or Universities, or in Edʳ and uther principall townes, that they may be so disposed of as shall be found most convenient for the publick peace and interests of the Church.

5. That such ministers who shall not in the diocesian and other ecclesiastique meetings submitt to the authoritie of Archbishops and Bishops be censured according to the Act of Parliament in the year 1612.

6. Seing the patronages of Churches belonging to the king, to the noblemen, Bishops, and others wer taken away by the pñdit partłt 1649 sinc which tym all have entered into Churches without presentations, and now the said right of patronage being recovered by this Parłt act as formerlie, that it be provyded that evrie minister shall obtaine a presentation from the respectiv patrons, befoir they have any legall right in tym comeing, for uplifting ther stipends without any prejudice to them for what hes beine bygone.

7. Yow shall rĕceav the oath and homage of the rest of the Bishops, who did not doe ther homage heir and that according to the Act of Parliament.

8. Wheras we find that the severall Colleges of our Universities in Scotland have meane provisions, yow are by the advyce of our

Parlt to appoynt the fittest way for the effectuall setling and secureinge a constant compitent mantinance for the said universities, especiallie our Universitie of St. Andrews, the mantinance therof being more leasened at this tym then others, 22 Jary, 166½.

By his Maties comand,

C. R. LAUDERDAILL.

[This is a *copy*].

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